



KHOMMEINI'S MAN IN THE PALACE



FRED HALLIDAY REPORTS
ON THE 73-YEAR-OLD
MEHDI BAZARGAN, IRAN'S
NEW PRIME MINISTER

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THE INSIDE STORY

JOHN JUDIS



Jane Melnick

Fear of crime greatest when power is least

Fear of crime does not necessarily correlate with actual crime rates, according to a group of researchers at Northwestern University led by Daniel A. Lewis. Some people walk about their communities without the fear of being mugged or robbed despite high crime rates while others live in constant fear even though the crime rates in their neighborhoods are not any higher than any place else in the city.

The Northwestern researchers set out to find the relationship between fear of crime and actual incidence of crime. They canvassed four Chicago communities with high crime rates to find out what people thought about the dangers in their neighborhoods. They then compared attitudes with actual crime statistics to determine whether the fear that was expressed coincided pretty closely with the actuality.

They found that among the four communities examined, the one with the second highest crime rate, Lincoln Park, had almost the lowest "concern for crime" and the lowest "perceived risk." On the other hand, the community with lower crime rates, Wicker Park, but with less of what the researchers call "civility" (incidentally, the community in which *IN THESE TIMES* is pub-

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lished) had the greatest fear of crime.

What the researchers mean by civility is a combination of physical and social conditions. Physically, a "civil" community does not have the signs of decay so often found in urban communities: decaying and burned-out buildings, empty stores, broken windows and other signs of vandalism. Socially, there aren't crowds of teenagers hanging around the streetcorners and there are no visible signs of heavy drug traffic.

Lincoln Park, the community in which the crime rate exceeds the fear of crime, is one marked by civility. It is a community heavily populated by affluent young professionals who have been busy for the past ten years gentrifying an old historic neighborhood. The decay that had set in years ago has been eradicated. There are no kids on street corners. The drug traffic is all behind closed doors.

Wicker Park is quite another scene. Though the crime rate is no higher than anywhere else in Chicago, the urban blight is clear. This is a slum with burned out buildings, evidence of vandalism, large numbers of drug raids, kids hanging out on street corners. And people are afraid to walk down the streets.

Two other communities.

Even more interesting than the comparison between Lincoln Park and Wicker Park, both on the north side of Chicago, is the comparison of these two communities with the other two neighborhoods, which are on the south side. Both these communities, though very different, had quite realistic assessments of the local dangers.

In Woodlawn, a high crime community, people recognize the danger but are not terribly afraid. In the Back of the Yards (the neighborhood where the great stockyards used to be), there is the least amount of crime among the four, and people take a philosophical attitude toward it.

Neither of these neighborhoods, where people are realistically cautious about where they go but are not unduly afraid, benefit from the affluence found in Lincoln Park. Woodlawn is a black ghetto and Back of the Yards is an ethnically and racially mixed working class community with the largest percentage of people earning under \$10,000. Yet the people there are almost as fearless as those in the elegant townhouses of Lincoln Park.

What Woodlawn and Back of the Yards have in common, and what Wicker Park lacks, are long-time community organizations originally formed by Saul Alinsky. The presence of these neighborhood alliances, to which people can turn in times of trouble, provides reassurance in communities that are otherwise not much different than Wicker Park.

The researchers point out that these community organizations are stabilizing elements in otherwise relatively unstable neighborhoods and that those who are making policy for crime prevention and protection should consider the benefits of such organizations rather than relying solely on beefing up the police forces.

The implications.

The authors of this study fail to deal with the implications of this finding. What they describe as an absence or presence of civility in a community may be translated into an atmosphere that generates a feeling of power over one's environment or a sense of powerlessness, which leads to fear.

In Lincoln Park, the residents have not only succeeded in raising much of their community out of the doldrums of blight that affects older urban neighborhoods, but they have managed to have one section named to the National Register of Historic Places, a strong expression of community power.

But power is not bought with money alone. Political clout has long been exercised by both the Woodlawn Organization and the Back of the Yards Council. Citizens of these two neighborhoods know that they can go to their local organization for help and, in turn, are strengthened as individuals by the presence of these grass roots organizations.

It is this feeling of power that is missing in Wicker Park and that accounts for the fear of crime being so much greater there than in the other three communities.

—Florence Hamlish Levinsohn

Democrats' healthy choice

Who chairs congressional committees directly affects what legislation gets to the floor in Congress and what it looks like when it gets there. This year, President Carter will try to get a bill to contain hospital costs passed, and next year House and Senate liberals will probably try to get the Kennedy-Corman National Health Insurance bill on the floor.

In the House, there are two subcommittees that deal with health, one a subcommittee of the Ways and Means Committee. Last year, the hospital cost bill got held up in the Commerce subcommittee because of the opposition of its chairman, Dan Rostenkowski (D-IL).

For the 96th Congress, both committees got new chairmen, and in both cases Congressional liberals came out better. Rostenkowski left the health subcommittee to join the subcommittee on special projects, which deals —among other things— with tax exemptions for the wealthy. Rostenkowski was replaced by Harlem Congressman Charles B. Rangel.

National health insurance advocate Henry A. Waxman (D-CA) defeated Richardson Preyer (D-NC) for the chairmanship of the Commerce Committee's subcommittee on health. Preyer's family has substantial drug company and tobacco holdings. He has been an arch foe of any smoking regulations. He also had the backing of House Majority Leader Jim Wright (D-TX).

—John Judis

Europe's reaction to Deng

Europe paid more attention to Deng Xiaoping's cowboy hat than to his anti-Soviet diatribes during his trip to the U.S. Fewer Europeans than Americans seem to think that China could influence U.S. policy.

The Eurocommunist press played down Deng's attacks on the "polar bear." The French Communist party weekly *l'Humanite Dimanche* said it was glad that Washington had ended its 30-year ostracism of People's China and hoped the happy reunion would not hurt detente.

It acknowledged that Deng had made some disturbing statements calling for an alliance against the USSR, but concluded with the wish that "on the contrary, the talks lead to a more realistic and constructive vision of world problems and the need for coexistence."

The French Socialist party weekly *l'Unite* also applauded U.S. recognition of Peking, while disavowing the Chinese leaders' "anti-Soviet obsession." *l'Unite* objected to China's support for the European economic Community "primarily as a weapon against Moscow," whereas the Socialist party saw it as a way to strengthen European countries in their dealings with both the U.S. and the Soviet Union.

This reaction, like most others, did not look beyond current European political concerns. Europe is hoping to get its share of the Chinese market. The Eurocommunist parties do not want to say anything that might set back their long-standing efforts to get off Peking's hate list, presumably encouraged by Hua Kuo-feng's visit to Yugoslavia.

Deng's threats to Vietnam were barely reported.

—Diana Johnstone

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IN THE NATION

D.C. police corral farmers and tractors

By Jo Freeman

WASHINGTON

SEVERAL THOUSAND FARMERS and approximately 3000 tractors from the Midwest and the South rolled into Washington Feb. 2 in the second annual demonstration by the American Agriculture Movement to demand higher government support prices for major farm commodities.

Moving at 15 miles an hour from camps in Maryland and Virginia, the farmers deliberately stalled the heavy morning rush hour traffic to attract attention to the economic bind they feel themselves in as a result of rising costs of production and lower prices for farm products.

Although entry routes had been worked out in advance, police found it difficult to control the tractorcade, whose "wagon masters" had no real authority over the farmers. The AAM claims to have no leadership, dues, or overall organization, relying primarily on consensus decision-making.

Fearing a week-long repeat of the traffic snarls, D.C. deputy police chief Robert Klotz decided to surround the entire Mall where the tractors were parked—while their drivers rallied at the Capitol steps—with almost 200 city buses and trucks.

"As they continued to gather on the Mall, I realized we had to do something," Klotz said. "The idea came to me that if I could block them in physically, I could prevent the disruption of rush hour and also force them to produce a leadership for us to negotiate with."

At press time, most of the tractors were still corralled on the Mall, though some had been allowed to leave when chained to flatbed trucks to ship them home.

"Penned like animals."

Despite much frustration and some anger by farmers at "being penned in like animals," the tactic successfully prevented further disruption of rush hour traffic. On several occasions, police allowed up to 200 tractors out of the corral to parade around town.

Once, several dozen tractors went to the Lincoln Memorial for a rally, after which their drivers refused to return them.

Since they were not blocking traffic, police allowed the tractors to remain parked around the Memorial until the next day, when the farmers voted to return to the Mall.

Relationships with the police had other ups and downs, including some racial epithets thrown at the largely black D.C. police force. When one errant unmarked cruiser was spotted on the Mall, it was "captured" by the tractors.

"Now you know how it feels to be trapped," yelled one farmer. Two police officers stepped out of the car—smiling and were alternately yelled at and slapped on the back. After the car's aerials were broken, its tires flattened, and it was plastered with stickers, it was allowed to leave.

The "ransomed" police officers said they didn't ask for assistance when "captured," instead telling police near the area to stay away. "Those people weren't going to hurt me," one said.

Other incidents were not so peaceful. For several days many farmers rode their tractors around the Mall repeatedly, out of boredom, and a few pummed police cars and motor scooters.

21 farmers arrested.

When tractors "went wild" police broke windows with billy clubs, tear-gassed the drivers and dragged them out of their cabs to face arrest. So far, 21 farmers have been arrested.

Continued on page 8.



Women will suffer from budget cut

By Jo Freeman

WASHINGTON

Despite much legislation to improve the status of women and a significant increase in the percentage of women in the labor force, women's overall economic situation has improved very little in the last decade, over three dozen panelists told the Senate Human Resources Committee earlier this month at two days of hearings held to assess women's problems and prospects.

According to Isabel Sawhill, director of the National Commission for Employment Policy, this failure is partially because "women, along with other disadvantaged groups, are a major victim of deflationary macroeconomic policies. First, they, even more than other groups, are denied access to the additional employment opportunities that faster growth could create. Second, contrary to some popular wisdom, the major beneficiaries of a slower rate of inflation are not low-income households, but the relatively affluent."

In support of this analysis, a representative from the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees read a statement from president Jerry Wurf that said that the proposed reduction in federal aid to cities would hurt women most, because women public employees generally occupy the entry-level, low seniority job slots and are concentrated in the job categories most likely to be cut. Women currently are 44 percent of state and 50 percent of local government employees—compared to 41 percent of the total labor force.

One reason women are concentrated in inferior jobs, according to Marilyn Weiner, director of the Women's Career Project of Northeastern University in Boston, is because "women gain their work experience in ways that are devalued in the world of work. Specifically, they learn to organize, to deal with



Sen. Harrison A. Williams (D-NJ) chats with Bella Abzug and Marlo Thomas during hearings on women held by the Senate Human Resources Committee

people, to take initiatives, to plan and to implement, either as a secretary, or as a manager of a household, or a leader of the community. That is seen as irrelevant because most job descriptions for management and professional positions stipulate that experience in organizing, planning and implementing must be derived from gainful employment as an engineer, or an accountant, or sales representative."

A common theme through much of the testimony was the need for more government programs to help women become self-supporting. Actress Marlo Thomas pointed out that "we have plenty of precedents in this country for government-aided re-entry into the economic mainstream. We have programs for prisoners, and for alcohol and drug abusers." She found it ironic "that a man who's gone to jail for possession of heroin is likely to get more encouragement in the job market than the woman who's raised three children."

Furthermore, she said, despite the fact that "it is 17 times more likely that any woman who gets pregnant today will die in childbirth in this country than it is likely that any man who joins the armed services will die in uniform...that man has been entitled to on-the-job training, the G.I. Bill and veteran's preference. Mothers have no comparable benefits."

Although programs under the Comprehensive Employment and Training

Act (CETA) have provided re-entry avenues for many women, Marion Pines, a CETA director in Baltimore, said that tightening restrictions on eligibility will cut many women out. "Regardless of their need for employability, women, who, for example, are secondary wage earners or primary wage earners stuck in low-paying dead-end jobs, in all likelihood, will find that CETA's eligibility standards exclude them."

The consequences of obligating women to take primary responsibility for raising families without providing for either re-entry or support was pointed out by Tish Sommers, of the Older Women's League Educational Fund. Decrying the emphasis of training programs on youth, she said, "If public policy on employment, education, welfare and health programs continues to ignore the needs of women in the middle years, and makes no effort to assist them to become self-supporting, tax paying citizens, the government will pay the costs of that neglect in ballooning expenditures for aging women a few years later."

Although women live many years longer than men, public and private support programs are generally inadequate. Only 10 percent of female retirees receive a private pension, which averages \$970 annually, compared to the average for men of \$2080. For this, and other reasons, the average income of women over age 65 is \$3088.



Photos/John Judis

THE RIGHT MOVES IN

By John Judis

WASHINGTON

THIS YEAR'S CONSERVATIVE Political Action Conference (CPAC), held Feb. 8-10 at Washington's posh Hyatt Regency, had its echoes of bygone days.

There was new left apostate Phillip Luce, publisher of *The Pink Sheet*, warning that "as of 1970, there were only three Communist parties in the U.S. Today there are six."

There was a man who couldn't sleep at night worrying about what would happen if 13 million illegal aliens flooded the polling booths in 1980.

And there was the usual crop of people who wanted to do away with the public schools and with the separation of church and state.

But there was a surprising maturity, and even moderation, evidenced in most of the proceedings. Besides Luce and Larry McDonald (D-GA), there was hardly a word about the red threat. None of the retired generals present called for "nuking" the USSR. And there was even a slightly open hand extended to working people and blacks.

In the wake of Proposition 13 fever, the setback of the ERA, and the defeat by conservatives of targeted Senate liberals, there was also a widely-shared optimism about conservatism's future. This contrasted sharply with conservatives' former conception of themselves as an embattled community of the faithful.

"Our philosophy has moved into the mainstream of American political thought," American Conservative Union (ACU) retiring chair and presidential candidate Phillip Crane (R-IL) told the 500 conservatives who gathered in the Regency Room for an awards banquet.

"In 1981, we'll be honoring a conservative president," awards banquet M.C. Lee Edwards predicted.

Collapse of liberalism.

The conservative upsurge, which began in the early '60s, is largely the result of what conservative columnist M. Stanton Evans called "the collapse of liberalism."

During the '60s, when liberal policies at home and abroad were under attack

from anti-war, black power, and "counter-cultural" movements, conservatives provided an ideological home for the many people who feared and resented these movements.

During this period, both the organizations that sponsored the conference, the ACU and the Young Americans for Freedom (YAF) were founded. YAF executive director Ron Robinson said that YAF reached its all-time membership peak of 75,000 members in 1971. This was the same year that a *National Review* poll of the campuses found that 60 percent of students called themselves "liberals," 17 percent described themselves as "radicals," and about half favored the "socialization of all basic industries."

During the '70s, conservatives have benefitted from the usual social caution that sweeps the country in times of economic insecurity: a desire for stability and roots and a rejection of any threats to family and neighborhood. They have also benefitted from the inadequacy and incoherence of liberal responses to the continuing inflation and unemployment.

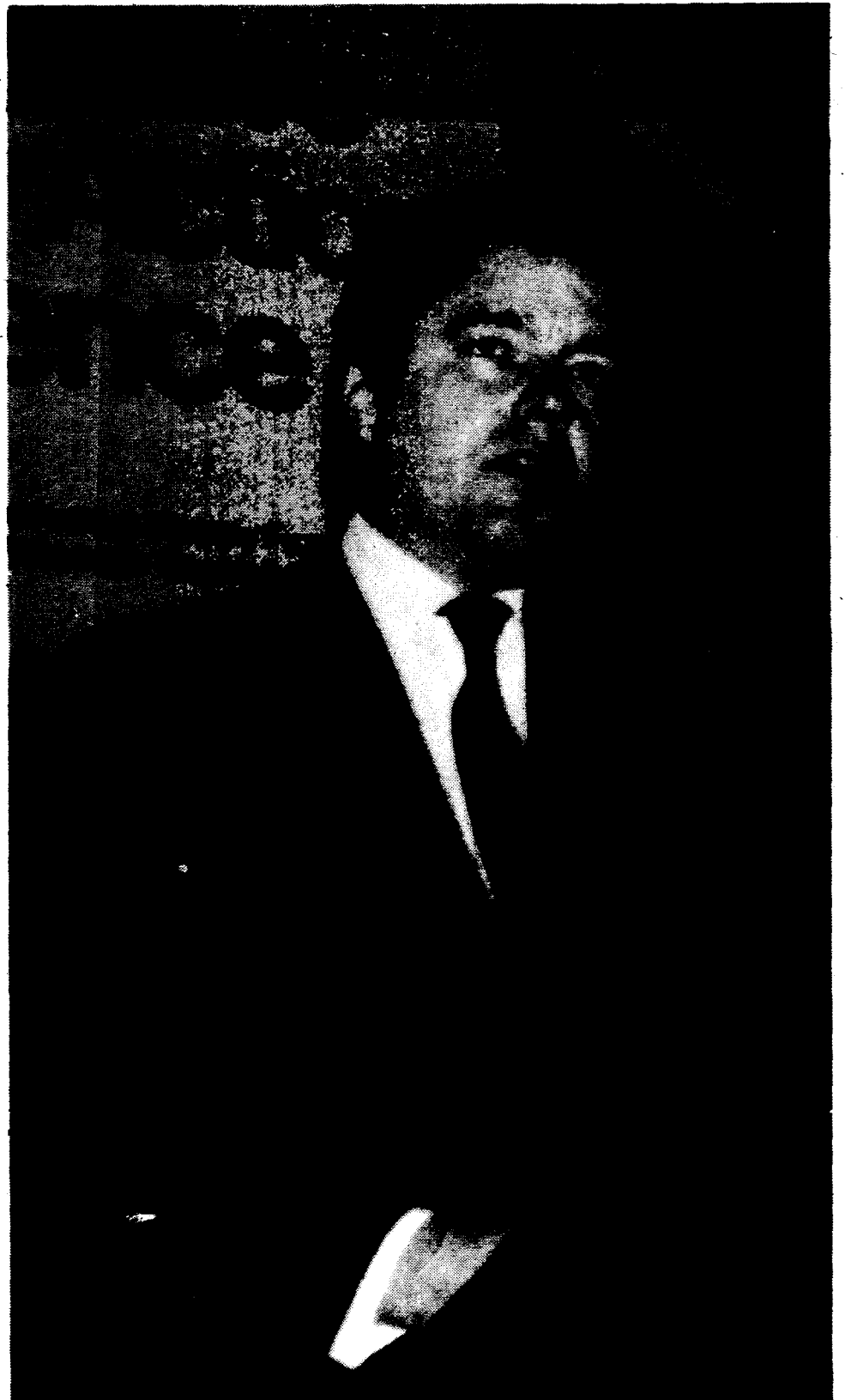
In the '70s, new conservative organizations, identified with the "new right" and relying on the election techniques pioneered by Richard Viguerie, have sprung up around the country. And a group of ex-liberal intellectuals, led by the *Public Interest's* Irving Kristol, have joined the conservative fold and given it a new theoretical depth and flexibility.

Facing reality.

The enemy of conservative thought has been less other ideas than the dull progress of history. Each political generation has had to redefine conservatism in line with a new set of historical realities.

Post-World War II conservatism was an uncomfortable mixture of libertarianism, traditionalism, and anti-Communism. Conservatives like L. Brent Bozell, the brother-in-law of William Buckley and the author of Barry Goldwater's *Conscience of a Conservative*, argued that if the U.S. could not win a "war of attrition" against the Soviet Union, it had an "obligation" to destroy the enemy "in the middle of the night."

In the *National Review* Buckley defended school segregation in the South on the grounds that the "white community is, for the time being, the advanced race."



Top: Buffalo Rep. Jack Kemp may run for Senate in 1980. Above: Georgia Rep. Larry McDonald is Congress' principal red-hunter.

Gathering in Washington, conservatives laid aside past quarrels and looked toward 1980. But formidable obstacles still lie in their way.

Conservative commentators like Milton Friedman questioned not only whether New Deal innovations like Social Security were necessary, but whether the police, highways, and the post office should remain in the public domain.

Events such as Soviet military build-up, the growth of a black electorate following the Voting Rights Act, the defeat of American intervention in Vietnam, and the American recognition of China, as well as a new found will to win political majorities, have served, however, to temper these convictions.

Conservatism redefined.

The CPAC meeting is the highpoint of the annual conservative calendar. This year's conference attracted neo-conservative intellectuals like Michael Novak and Jude Wanniski as well as old standbys like M. Stanton Evans and Phyllis Schlafly. Conservative politicians were present on all levels, from Tennessee state representative Bob Copeland to Ronald Reagan, Jesse Helms, Strom Thurmond, Orrin Hatch, and Jack Kemp. In the exhibition hall, "new right" organizations like the National Conservative Political Action Committee arrayed their wares alongside the Cardinal Mindszenty Foundation and the Citizens Committee for the Right to Bear Arms.

Outside of executives from Coors and Dart Industries, most of the conference-goers seemed to come from the smaller business and professional upper middle class and to identify with small and medium-sized enterprises rather than "big business." "Large businesses are often managed by trained cadre from Yale or Harvard," *Conservative Digest* editor Brian Benson explained. "They're less responsive to real free enterprise and tend to develop a corporate liberal mentality."

But unlike the customary conservative view of big business, the CPAC participants diverged from the views of many past conservatives.

Several speakers trotted out the old sawhorse, "The best government is government that governs least," but it became apparent that the definition of "least" had shifted sharply upward in the last 20 years. "I agree with Irving Kristol," Buffalo member of congress Jack Kemp said. "There are many things that must be done by the public sector."

In a Saturday morning panel on SALT, the emphasis was not on defeating the Soviet Union, but on keeping up with them. Maj. Gen. John Singlaub, whom Carter forced into retirement after he protested the planned troop withdrawal from South Korea, stressed that "the strategic imbalance is so severe that we can't participate in a negotiation that will come out to our advantage." Singlaub and others argued that the only way to balance Soviet superiority in conventional warfare was to achieve, over the long run, superiority in nuclear weaponry.

There was no talk about "rolling back" communism. Instead, conservatives have accepted the ex-liberal policy of containment against what they see as Jimmy Carter's McGovernite application of the free world to the communists.

On the ERA, conservatives did not contend that women were the lesser sex, but instead maintained that the ERA would not provide women with "equal pay for equal work" and would eliminate benefits women now receive.

The conservatives were also no longer willing to ignore the black and working class voter. "The future of conservatism," Oklahoma congressman and ACU vice-chair Mickey Edwards said, "rests on our ability to appeal to working class people, black and white."

The conservatives were even unwilling to blame unemployed blacks for their situation. "You can't blame someone who is not well-trained and is facing a 9 percent rate of inflation and a confiscatory tax structure for going on welfare," Phil Crane said. "Under our existing system,

if he is sensible, he'll go on welfare."

During the '70s, the main difference among conservatives seemed to be between the "economic conservatives" or the "old right," who stressed things like balanced budgets, and the "new right" or "social conservatives," who stressed abortion, homosexuality, and busing. But these differences have turned out to be largely tactical and not philosophical. At CPAC, there was widespread belief that the two camps had been united, both at the leadership level and the base.

"A conservative consensus is emerging in this country," *National Review* publisher William Rusher said. "It embraces both economic and social conservatives."

"A lot of the differences have evaporated," Brian Benson said. "What we're all looking for now are winning issues."

But conservatives still face formidable tactical questions, which could expand into strategic or philosophical differences. At the CPAC conference, these questions revolved around budgetary economics and the presidential race for 1980.

A resolution for a constitutional convention to the balanced budget has already been approved in 26 out of the needed 34 states. Conservatives have largely spearheaded the resolution (for this reason, there was some consternation at Jerry Brown's recent conversion), but not all conservatives agree with this approach.

Some, like ex-Reagan administration member Lewis K. Uhler, favor a spending limitation. Others favor a balanced budget amendment, but fear that a constitutional convention could get out of hand. And still others favor neither a spending limitation nor a balanced budget amendment, but instead want to cut taxes.

This latter group is led by Jack Kemp, Jeffrey Bell, and ex-*Wall Street Journal* editor Jude Wanniski, who drafted the Kemp-Roth tax bill to cut taxes 30 percent across-the-board. At CPAC, they argued that such a tax cut would spark new investment and employment, and by doing so, both increase federal revenues and decrease the burden of social spending.

Their model is the 1962 Kennedy tax-cut, which did spark new investment and raise federal revenues.

The differences between the Kemp camp and the balanced budgeters are partly theoretical. The balanced budgeters share the liberal doubts about the efficacy of tax cuts in a time of high inflation. But the differences are also partly political, stemming from Kemp's seeming unwillingness to place the burden of fighting inflation directly on the poor and the working class.

Republicans vs. conservatives.

Ever since the Eisenhower days, conservatives have been unable to decide whether to try to take over the Republican party or to start their own party, where they would be assured their choice of presidential candidates. In the mid '70s and at CPAC, this debate resurfaced, only with a new Democratic wrinkle.

In 1975, William Rusher, in *The Making of a Majority Party*, argued for uniting Republican economic conservatives and Democratic social conservatives in a new conservative party, with Ronald Reagan as its 1976 standard-bearer. This new party, Rusher argued, would soon displace the Republican Party in the same way that the Republicans had earlier displaced the Whigs.

A somewhat chastened Rusher told this year's CPAC audience that while he "doesn't see a new party in the foreseeable future, in the longer range, the idea still has something to be said for it." Rusher went on to develop a somewhat pessimistic view of 1980. He warned that it would be difficult to defeat Carter. And he also warned that conservatives would be unable to capture the GOP.

"The liberal minority [in the Republican Party] cannot win," Rusher said, "but

they can still prevent the party from broadening its base to the right." He argued that if Reagan does win the nomination, he would be forced again to move toward the center to unify the party for the presidential bid.

Rusher advised conservatives not to limit their efforts to presidential politics or to the Republican Party. "The Democratic right is where the appeal must be made," he said.

He predicted that some Democrats would become the "vectors of conservatism" in the coming years, and he refused to share the audience's low regard for Jerry Brown's conversion.

Human Events editor Allan Ryskind disputed Rusher's strategy. "I have no hopes for the Democratic Party," Ryskind said.

Maryland political scientist and ACU board member Donald Devine also disagreed with Rusher. "If we split our forces—that's the way to lose. I don't think you can take over two parties when you don't have one."

Both Devine and Ryskind favor a Reagan candidacy in the Republican party, but other conservatives, including Richard Viguerie, are casting their lot with Phil Crane. Crane, several told me, would be more likely to resist the pressure toward the center than Reagan would.

Frustrated again?

Will the conservatives be able to resolve these differences? And if so, will they finally fulfill their fondest dreams? Not likely!

The first obstacle conservatives will have to overcome, as Rusher noted, is the tendency of political parties and politicians, with an election victory in sight, to move toward the center. This is already taking place in the Republican Party. Two weeks before CPAC opened, Sen-

ate Republicans, with the support of ostensible conservatives like Robert Dole (KS), Richard Lugar (IN), and Thad Cochran (MS), elected moderates Robert Packwood (OR) and John Heinz (PA) to Senate leadership posts over conservative opponents.

But even if a conservative like Phillip Crane were to win the nomination and then to proceed undaunted to win the presidency, it is very unlikely he could carry out his designs. For instance, it seems even less possible now than in 1964 to increase defense spending by \$10 billion, as conservatives advocate, and balance the budget.

Nor is the Kemp solution to America's economic ills any more compelling. It could aggravate inflation still more and plunge the country into a recession, which would make present budget deficits look positively Coolidgesque.

So just on the level of policy and politics, the conservatives are likely to be frustrated once again, whoever is elected in 1980.

But conservatives must also face the likelihood that reality will once again outdistance them. American capitalism's only recourse in the face of continued stagnation will eventually be more not less state intervention. Such intervention, which is likely to include controls not only on wages and prices, but also on investment and credit, will once again force conservatives to redefine the "least" government.

Presently, the liberal Republicans and moderate Democrats who favor such steps are in the same position as the Kemps and Cranes. They lack a popular mandate.

It is therefore most likely that both sides will muddle through until a recession forces the country to choose one side or the other.

How to win over labor and blacks

Buffalo congressman Jack Kemp and Oklahoma City congressman Mickey Edwards both contend that Republican conservatives can reach black and working class voters.

Both Edwards and Kemp come from congressional districts with sizable proportions of blacks, labor union members, and lower-income people. Kemp's district was and remains a Democratic stronghold. Edwards was the first Republican in 48 years to win his district, which has a three-to-one Democratic edge in registration.

In 1978, Kemp got 95 percent of the votes in his district. Edwards got 80 percent in his district, after barely winning in 1976. Edwards' survey showed that he won 70 percent of the vote in families with at least one union member, and 75 percent of the vote among blacks.

Kemp relies for his vote on his personal charm and masculine appeal (he was a star quarterback for the Buffalo Bills) and also on an economic doctrine according to which the poor and unemployed would be better off if taxes were cut across-the-board. Kemp also carefully avoids the balanced-budget, fix-the-welfare-chiselers rhetoric of the conservative movement. In 1978, he earned right-wing ire by supporting federal aid to New York City, as well as by voting for representation for the District of Columbia.

Edwards' appeal is less straightforward. "I don't go back to my district with placards proclaiming von Mises and Hayek," he told the CPAC audience (Ludwig von Mises and Friedrich Hayek are renowned conservative economists.) "The



Oklahoma City Rep. Mickey Edwards

voter votes for a candidate if he likes him. When my wife goes door-to-door, she doesn't engage the voter in a debate over factions in Afghanistan. She tells him what a nice garden he has."

He got the black vote, Edwards explained, "by putting three blacks on my staff. No one had ever done that. I also opened a full-time office in the black area, and I regularly meet with black businessmen and clergymen."

Edwards thinks that in spite of his unblemished conservative voting record, he will continue to be re-elected. "I also send regular newsletters and I go back to my district every weekend. If you keep in touch, it's very hard for an incumbent to get defeated."

Edwards does, however, make some strictly conservative appeals. "People don't worry about gun control the way we do," he says. "That doesn't mean you ignore the issue. We send specialized letters to every registered hunter about gun control and to every physician about the threat of national health insurance."

—John Judis

ANTI-BOMB PROTEST

WRL anti-bomb protesters sentenced

By Susan Jaffe

WASHINGTON

GRACE PALEY AND TEN OTHERS convicted Dec. 12 for "unlawful entry" on the White House lawn were joined by over 400 supporters in the District of Columbia Superior Court for sentencing Monday, Feb. 12.

The White House Lawn 11, members of the War Resisters League, including writer Grace Paley, were arrested Labor Day 1978 when they stepped off a White House guided tour onto the grass, unfurled a banner that read "No Nuclear Weapons—No Nuclear Power—USA or USSR," and distributed leaflets. (Also in the group were Gail Nederman, Karl Bissinger, Cathy Carson, Ralph DiGia, Ed Hedemann, Warren Hoskins, Linnea Capps Lacey, Karen Malpede, Glen Pontier and Van Zwishohn.)

At the same moment, seven WRL members who had traveled to Moscow unfurled a similar banner and distributed the identical leaflets (in Russian) in Red Square, 100 yards from Lenin's tomb.

The Moscow demonstrators were briefly detained and later met with the Soviet Peace Council. The Washington contingent, however, were immediately arrested, held for 30 hours, charged with "unlawful entry" and, after a seven-day trial, a jury found them guilty. They faced six months in prison and/or a \$100 fine. (Unlawful entry was one of the crimes of the Watergate burglars; disorderly conduct would have carried a lesser penalty.)

Judge Donald S. Smith imposed \$100 fines or 90-day imprisonment, 180-day suspended sentences, and probation for two or, in some instances, three years. The fines were paid and an appeal filed.

Support letters.

During the sentencing, Judge Smith, a Nixon appointee, often referred to the many letters of support for the 11 he had received and "the complete lack of understanding they showed" by depicting the court as "a tool to crush dissent." Nevertheless, he told Warren Hoskins: "You cannot have a demonstration at the front door of the leader of the free world." And although the War Resisters League is a



pacifist organization, Smith viewed their short, peaceful demonstration as "a disruption of the orderly operation of government."

He told Grace Paley that the White House guards, who have to be prepared for terrorist attacks, were diverted from the White House and the President to the lawn outside.

"Then," Paley advised the judge, "they should have stayed in the White House."

Outside the packed courtroom, supporters from as far away as California, Michigan and Florida filled the corridors including large numbers of high school and college students. At the conclusion of the court session, the banner raised in Moscow and at the White House was unfurled in the courtroom and carried through a snow storm to Lafayette Park, opposite the White House.

After a short rally, demonstrators crossed Pennsylvania Avenue and formed a picket line. Twenty-five demonstrators sat down in front of one of the White

Paley and Abzug (center) at protest rally

House gates, holding the banner and waited for a response to a letter sent to President Carter asking that he meet with them.

They were soon arrested and charged with "disorderly conduct." Unlike the original White House protesters, these demonstrators were taken into custody and later released on \$10 bond.

In coordinated actions around the country on Feb. 12, the War Resisters League

banner was raised again—from Hanover, New Hampshire (where the Ompompanoosuc affinity group braved 30 degree below zero temperatures) to Austin, Texas. "We would have definitely gotten jail sentences," said Grace Paley, "had it not been for the hundreds of letters to the judge from all over the country and the great support of so many people and organizations."

Paley tells jury: save the children

Following is Grace Paley's statement to the jury which she was not permitted to read in court. It was prepared at the request of the White House Lawn 11.

The reason I'm here is that I live next door to a school. Every morning the kids go in kind of solemnly and at three they come flying out. You know how nice and lively they look. But I and my friends really and truly believe they will never grow up. Certainly they'll never get to be 56 (which I happen to be this very day).

So—while the great important powers of the world are piling up arms, nuclear armaments—all the noise and terror of coming war—we did a small, quiet, simple thing. We stepped out onto the grass of our own President's public home and our friends unfurled a banner in the public place of Russian power and we said, Listen! Stop!

We did this in order to be seen and heard through the media far and wide—but our short walk across the grass was, in fact, risky and it turned out to be dangerous for us.

Whatever you decide about us—guilty or not guilty—we hope you hear what we're saying. Otherwise, you'll be taking risks much greater than we've taken and the grass of the whole world will be dangerous to all the children.

In fact, there won't be any grass, and there won't be any children.

CENSORSHIP

Monitor rejects South Africa ad

By Joel Rogers

INFLAMMATORY. "TENDENTIOUS." "Deliberately misleading." That is how spokespeople of the *Christian Science Monitor* described a political advertisement submitted to the newspaper by the New York-based Concerned Citizens Committee on Africa on Jan. 26. The ad was immediately rejected for publication. (The ad appears in this issue of *ITT*, p. 20.)

Monitor advertising business manager Harriet Russell "wouldn't care to say" who made the final decision to kill the advertisement, although Russell's boss, advertising manager Clayton Westland, frankly conceded that, "Of course, the trustees were involved."

The ad, entitled "Another Vietnam?" presents a record of American involvement in Southern Africa and draws parallels with the pattern of American intervention in Vietnam. While declining to discuss its objections in detail, or to reveal its own sources of contrary evidence, the *Monitor* contests a number of the ad's claims:

•The Committee states that the U.S. has allowed illegal arms shipment to South Africa and Rhodesia, basing its claim on the recently published *U.S. Military Involvement in Southern Africa* (edited by

the Western Massachusetts Assn. of Concerned African Scholars).

The *Monitor* asserts that the U.S. has allowed no such thing.

•The *Monitor* is "bothered" by the ad's allegations that the CIA has falsely accused both the Soviet Union and Cuba of initiating intervention in Angola in order to deflect attention from the agency's own secret war there in 1975. The Committee's source here is John Stockwell, former chief of the CIA's Angola Task Force, who documents the CIA's recent role in Angola in his recent book, *In Search of Enemies*.

•The *Monitor* "does not believe" the ad's contention that the U.S. implicitly supports elections in Rhodesia and Namibia that exclude the independent movements, nor does it believe that the Smith regime has rejected majority rule.

Here, the Committee relies upon widespread reporting in both the American and foreign press that the recent election in Namibia excluded the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO), which has been recognized by African countries and the UN as the only true representative of the Namibian people.

The *Monitor*, say Committee members, appears to ignore the extensively documented incidence of South African police harassment of Namibians during the

voter registration period before the elections, as well as South Africa's continued defiance of a UN resolution calling for the withdrawal of its 50,000-man army and police force, and the U.S. role in blocking stronger UN action. In Rhodesia, the Smith regime's commitment to majority rule speaks for itself. The widely supported Patriotic Front, that already controls two-thirds of the country, is blankly excluded from Smith's proposed "internal settlement," which enjoys tacit U.S. government approval.

Commenting on the *Monitor's* refusal to publish the ad, Committee co-chair Sean Gervasi, notes that "15 years ago there was a conspiracy of silence about what was happening in Vietnam. One can't help wondering whether the best aren't doing their brightest again."

Committee members are concerned that the *Monitor's* rejection of the ad is one more sign of an orchestrated blackout on African news. Co-chair Gerard Colby adds, "The *Monitor's* rejection only confirms what former Nixon speechwriter John Andres recently ascertained in the *National Review*—that the *Monitor* is moving steadily to the right. But a much larger issue is involved here: the withholding of important information from the American people and the suppression of freedom of speech."

STEEL STRIKE

Shipyard workers want autonomy in the workplace

By David Moberg

Part 2

Last week, David Moberg described the background of the Newport News Shipbuilding Co. steelworkers strike now in progress in Newport News, Va. Fueled by the civil rights movement, workers' dissatisfaction with the company union's failure to represent them together with the changes wrought by the takeover by a huge conglomerate of a long-standing family business in which quantity of production replaces quality, the huge shipyard was ripe for strong union organization. The strike, now in its third week, is not so much for wages as for improved working conditions, to regain for the workers some of the autonomy lost to them in the fast shuffle of management effected by the conglomerate's takeover.

THE NEW MANAGEMENT brought in by Tenneco changed work in the yard in ways virtually guaranteed to increase dissatisfaction and conflict. They brought in more supervisors, in many cases tripling the number. More of the foremen were college graduates or others who had not risen through the craft ranks, thereby gaining experience and legitimacy in the eyes of workers.

Also, workplace control became centralized in the personnel department, which extended its influence into the yard and superseded the supervisors' authority in making many decisions. Foremen became "pushers," lacking discretion in running their work area but obliged to get the work out fast.

"They're operating with so many managers that they're not getting the work," Rob Elkins, 34, a machinist for 15 years at the yard, says. "Supervision has tripled since I got there. If they cut back their foremen, they'd get a third more work done. Now that you've got more management, you've got more buddy-buddy decisions, say on shift changes. A superintendent takes care of his friends."

Despite their increased numbers, closer supervision and stricter discipline—especially for matters such as attendance, the supervisors lost the power to make decisions on many issues. "The biggest change with Tenneco," a strike picket captain with 32 years experience in the yard said, "was that it took a lot of decision-making away from lower management. They

Experienced, skilled workers are particularly upset about the decline in the quality of work.

put it in a department under Mr. Savas. They made their own rules [rather than allowing workers and supervisors to work out informal arrangements], and the union was in bed with them. At one time you could pretty well depend on what your foreman said. It used to be a foreman could recommend a good man for a raise, but personnel would say if he's missed any days he can't have it, but then some sorry bastard who couldn't do any work but always showed up would get a raise. They just gradually eroded the relationship of foremen and the men. If they don't get along, work deteriorates in quantity and quality."

Experienced, skilled workers were particularly upset over decline in the quality of work after the conglomerate took over. They, like many in the community, were deeply troubled by the symbolism in Tenneco's removal of a plaque that had long proclaimed the yard's philosophy: "We will build good ships, at a profit if we can, at a loss if we must, but always good ships."

Elkins saw the quality problems as stemming from management's removal of control over work from the skilled workers. For example, more machine tools are now guided by prepared tapes and are run by an operator trained in six months instead of a machinist trained in eight to ten years. Even the machinists are now subject to direct supervisory control over their moves and must follow detailed instructions on the "idiot sheets" sent down from planning department.

It's out of their hands.

"They take it out of the machinists' hands and tell him how to do it," Elkins lamented while warming up in strike headquarters. "It's actually a hindrance. You used to look at the drawing and make the piece. Now you got to read through each instruction and ask the superintendent each step. Then you change it to how it should



A welder at Newport News Shipbuilding Co. where workers are in the third week of a strike for better working conditions.

have been done in the first place. If the superintendent says, 'You're the mechanic. Do the job,' then I can do it. But when they tell you everything to do it slows you down. Eventually it gets so you don't even want to produce the job fast.

"They've taken all the challenge out of it. I just go in to draw my money. That's the way with everyone in the shipyard. They treat you like a child, you act like a child, and Tenneco treats us like children. It shows up later in high costs, low quality and dissatisfaction among people. For the experience and knowledge I have they don't give me any recognition."

Like many other workers, Elkins was upset with Tenneco's decision, soon after it arrived, to eliminate piece work. Management did it, reportedly on their attorneys' advice, in anticipation of organization of the yard by the Machinists. They apparently felt that management could protect its interests better with hourly rates, which most unions tend to favor in any case.

But the piece rate gave many workers motivation to work and a sense of reward for skill. Elkins said that he used to plan the next job while working on another operation. Now, he asks, "what's the sense of it? You don't get paid for thinking now. They don't want you to think." Now the whip is used more than the carrot. "They drive you more now," Charles Younger, 63, a mechanic at the yard since 1941, said, "but you don't get anything for it. They try to get the same amount out but without piecework."

Not only the old-timers with well-developed skills are unhappy. Jan Hooks, 37, who went to work in the yards two and a half years ago when she was separated from her husband, felt that new workers, especially women, were often held back: "They don't utilize talents people have in that yard. Women every day have to prove themselves. But the Steelworkers already have made a difference. They've made workers aware of their rights as workers—justice on the job, equality. I'm tired of not getting a raise because I won't let the foreman smack me on the ass."

Favoritism persists.

Even though the supervisor's power has been lessened, favoritism persists and rankles many workers who think that seniority or some impersonal rotation should rule. Although the paternalism of the

plant once embraced a limited protectiveness, such as an informal company policy of never laying off all the members of an extended family working in the yard during depressed times, all that seems to remain of the policy is the ability of supervisors to dispense favors to workers who docilely submit or cooperate with management.

"They play favoritism in that yard," Earl Pendleton, 51, says. "I never made
Continued on page 8.

Letelier convictions

By Max Weisenfeld

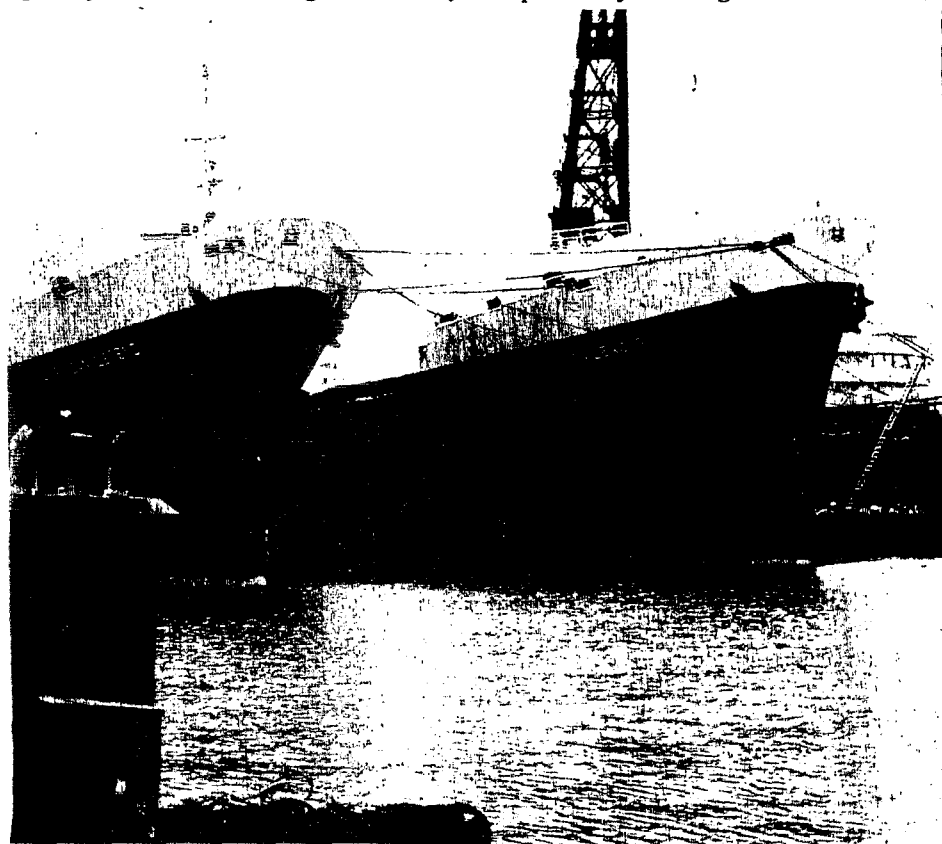
WASHINGTON

At two minutes to four, on Feb. 14, after just one day of deliberation, the seven-woman, five-man, all-black jury in the Orlando Letelier-Ronni Karpen Moffitt murder trial, returned a verdict of guilty on all counts for all three of the Cuban nationalist defendants.

The Cubans are three of eight men indicted in the Sept. 21, 1976, car bombing in Washington that killed the Chilean diplomat and his associate. The defendants took the verdict stoically, as their wives and daughters sobbed uncontrollably. As the crowd filtered out of the courtroom, Guillermo Novo and Alvin Ross raised their fists to the air and cried, "Viva Cuba!"

The defendants were convicted of crimes mandating life sentences. Novo and Ross face a minimum of 20 years before being eligible for parole. They also each face three more counts with maximum sentences of life. Novo and his brother, Ignacio, were convicted of perjury counts carrying lesser terms. Ignacio faces a maximum of 13 years in jail. All three defendants are being held without bail pending sentencing.

Although Assistant U.S. Attorney Eugene Propper says that the conviction theoretically does not affect the case for the extradition of the three Chileans indicted in the case, including the former head of DINA, the Chilean secret police, it will make the American case much more persuasive. The final two men indicted, Cuban nationalist Dionisio Suarez and Virgilio Paz are still fugitives with a \$25,000 bounty offered for the capture of each.



Farmers

Continued from page 3.

Farmers' frustration was expressed in other ways. At least four tractors were burned on succeeding nights in protest against "the high cost of farming." To prevent the police or fire departments from dousing the flames, a burning tractor was circled by others.

At one rally held on the Mall, it was announced that a tractor would be driven through the USDA, an agency the AAM does not feel is sympathetic to its aims. As police and press gathered, a two-foot long toy tractor was pushed through the front door. Subsequently, with cameras just inside the door, a 12-ton tractor with a giant scoop rolled toward it as though going through. While the cameras inside focused on the approaching menace, the farmers stood just outside the open door, carefully guiding the tractor's driver who stopped within three inches of the wall.

After two weeks of tractors, the esti-

mates of damage to the sod, trees, benches and pools on the Mall ranged from \$500,000 to \$2 million. When criticized for this "destructiveness," one farmer blamed it on the police corral. "If you pen a bull up in a china shop, you've got to expect some damage." But a group of Maryland farmers said they would repair the damage when the protest was over.

Just when that would be no one was saying. Claiming the farmers would "stay as long as it takes" to get what they wanted, AAM received an extension on their permit to the middle of March. It may take that long, or longer, to get their message across.

Although AAM farmers lobbied all week, just what they wanted, and why they wanted it, was not clear to the press or the general public. So much attention had been focused on the tractors that the purpose of their trek to Washington had been obscured. Farmers hoped to clarify the reasons for their journey through hearings before the House Agriculture Committee which began last week.

Jo Freeman will report further on the AAM demonstrations in coming issues.



Bella steals spotlight

Bella Abzug, after her recent firing by President Carter, received much of the attention at the Senate Human Resources Committee hearings on women. Abzug was invited to testify as co-chair of the National Advisory Committee for Women before her abrupt dismissal two weeks earlier. Speaking as a private person, her testimony was largely drawn from the 4500-word statement the NAC had prepared for President Carter—and which had been largely ignored in the furor over Abzug's dismissal.

Quoting its assertion "that all public policies and actions be examined carefully for their impact on women," she detailed the adverse impact many of the proposed budget cuts would have. Nonetheless, Abzug concluded "the single most important contribution the Congress could make to the well-being of women...would be to significantly reduce military spending...and to use those funds to strengthen our civilian economy."

Abzug's presence, but not her points, were covered by the news media. Ignoring the extensive documentation of women's plight presented during two days of testimony, the press instead focused on the withdrawal of Sarah Weddington, Carter's advisor on women's issues from the hearings. Although she submitted written testimony several days in advance, the day before the hearings began Weddington sent committee chair Harrison Williams (D-NJ) a letter saying she had been advised by White House counsel Robert Lipshutz that "it is White House policy for personal aides to the President to decline invitations to testify before congressional committees." Weddington is a Texas lawyer who successfully argued the 1973 abortion case before the Supreme Court. She replaced Midge Costanza, fired last summer, and reportedly supported Abzug's dismissal.

—Jo Freeman

Steel strike

Continued from page 7.

one merit raise in seven years there. They cut me out of a new job 'cause I'm a Steelworker and, besides, I don't work Saturdays all the time. The guys who bring the boss the nicest jar of oysters or the ripest tomatoes, they get the raise." The favorites, often delegates or activists in PSA, (Peninsular Shipbuilders Association, the old company union), become "tattletales" who help the foreman maintain control of the yard, Pendleton added.

Pendleton, like many others, felt that productivity and quality had declined in recent years because people were increasingly dissatisfied with wages, benefits and the conditions of work. A contract with the Steelworkers could even be good for the company, he argues: "A man contented will work better than a man depressed, and that's the way so many peo-

ple are at the yard, depressed because they've been lied to and misled so long."

The pressure eventually drives many to complain, to rebel, or to quit. "Tenneco gives me the impression that they don't care anything about people that work for them," Ray Bailey, a machinist-turned-inspector who started to work there in 1959, says. "You're just a number to them. They say, 'We'll just use you till you're old and dead and that's the end of it.' I know 50 machinists out of around 500 who quit last year in disgust, and many had been there for 15 years."

One of the work rules most easily abused by foremen was the "pass-out rule." As Ray Taylor, secretary-treasurer of the designers local, explains it, foremen had the discretion of sending home individuals or whole crews of workers after even an hour or two on the job without compensation for the rest of the day. Or if some group of workers, such as painters, weren't needed for a few days, they could be "passed out."

"If they decide they don't like you, they

pass you out three days a week," Taylor says. "That's too much work to qualify for unemployment, and too little to live on. Eventually you'd be forced to quit, and then couldn't get compensation. There's nothing you can do about it, because it's in accordance with the contract."

The favoritism, reinforced by PSA's collaboration with management and its own discriminatory practices, made the wounds to worker self-esteem and satisfaction brought about by the more centralized, punitive and bureaucratic management even more painful.

But the basic impact on shipyard work of Tenneco, even if it was implemented by an autonomous local management, was similar to that of corporate capitalism on work throughout this century. Workers were increasingly deprived of skill and autonomy, denied the right to make decisions and treated as abstract, machine-like lumps of ability to work. In reaction to this, workers at Newport News voted to be represented by the Steelworkers and finally were forced to strike.

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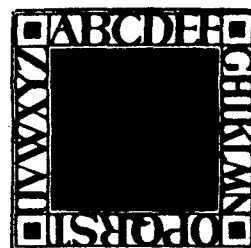
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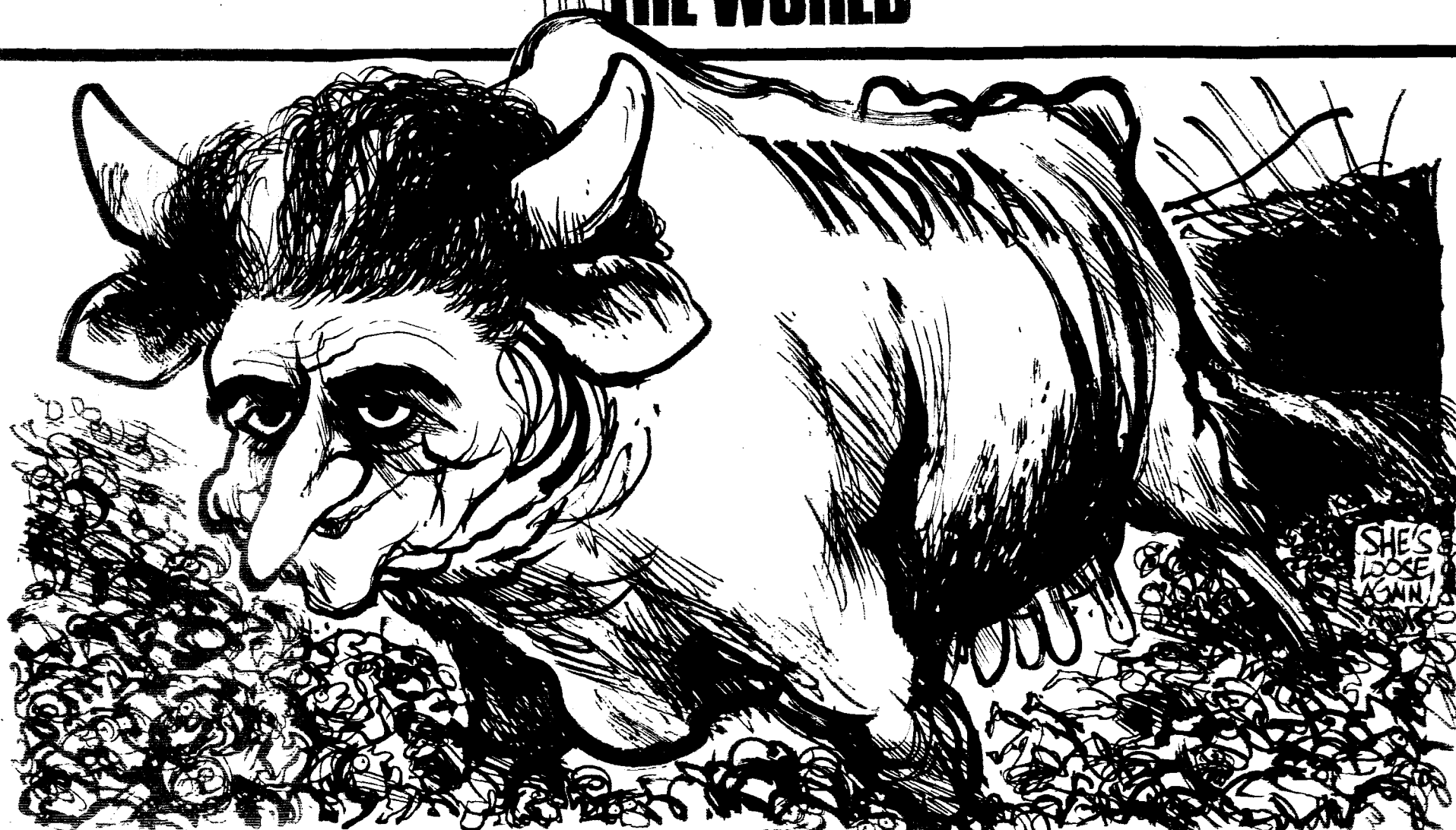
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IN THE WORLD



SACRED BULL

INDIA

Indira Gandhi doesn't threaten Janata

By Mervyn Jones

NEW DELHI

ONE OF THE FEW THINGS YOU can say categorically about India is that it has the world's worst publicity machine. You have to come here in order to discover anything that is to the country's credit. Much to my surprise, the record in the material sphere since the Janata government took office in March 1977 is one of remarkable achievement, of which little or nothing has been recorded in the world press.

Food output—In terms of cereal crops hit a record last year of 126 million tons, or 25 percent above the harvests of a decade ago. Then, India was pleading for American wheat; today, the prospect is one of food exports, and a noted scientist has held out the prospect of an "Indian breadbasket."

While the green revolution yielded its first results in wheat, the transformation has spread to rice, staple food of the south. Rice output, thanks to successful development of new strains, rose in 1978 by a startling 25 percent over 1977.

Last year, 6.5 million acres of dry land was brought under irrigation, a record for a single year in any country in the world. The same period saw 350,000 new wells sunk. Generation of electric power went up by 14 percent, and use of fertilizers by 27 percent. To some extent, these improvements can be ascribed to a new policy of decentralization, enabling village councils to make purchases and undertake projects without the delay of seeking approval from the Delhi bureaucracy.

Unusually in a non-communist nation, India has overcome the inflation of the '70s. (Imports, of course, are a relatively minor factor in a largely self-enclosed economy.) The price index has gone up by a mere 1 percent since last April, and the market prices of the important commodities—oil, sugar, cotton among them—have actually fallen.

Some of these successes can be traced to plans made a number of years ago. One shouldn't forget, either, the remarkable

luck of four successive good harvests. Nevertheless, governments the world over are normally judged by such yardsticks, and decent credit should be given to a government that has been so widely condemned.

Benefits still skewed.

Now for the bad news. The benefits, as always, have gone mainly to the favorably placed. It's a fair bet that most of those new wells and irrigation channels have watered the lands of substantial farmers who could afford the outlay, and who in most areas dominate the village councils. Cheaper sugar is an irrelevance to people who are too poor to buy any.

The percentage, as well as the absolute number, of people living below the official poverty line has risen and is still rising. Hunger remains the lot of the peasant with only a tiny plot of land, not to speak of the landless agricultural laborer. An Indian working for UNICEF told me that in the villages of Rajasthan, not 200 miles from the capital, you can talk with people who have eaten literally nothing for three days.

Disturbing, too, has been the recurrence of violent clashes between people of different castes or religions. One of the worst occurred recently in Aligarh, a town 80 miles from Delhi. I spent a saddening but instructive day there, looking at tiny houses which had been looted, burned out, or destroyed by hand-grenades (either secretly manufactured or stolen from the nearby army depot). Fourteen people lost their lives, according to official sources, but sober observers from Aligarh's university estimated the deaths at around 100.

Aligarh is a warren of narrow streets; it's just possible to drive a car along one of the main thoroughfares if there isn't a car coming the other way. Incredibly to the western visitor, the town has a population of 350,000. I'd guess that a downstate Illinois town with 10,000 people would cover the same area. You don't have to be a sucker for Robert Ardrey to concede that such contiguity magnifies tension.

The Moslems are the minority com-

munity, about 30 percent of the population. The disorders began with an attack on a Moslem neighborhood called Manik Chowk, as revenge for the death of a popular Hindu wrestler who had been stabbed by Moslem hoodlums.

Manik Chowk when I saw it looked as though it had endured a World War II air raid with incendiary bombs. As well as religious fanaticism, however, there had been an economic motive. Hindu merchants living nearby want to get this Moslem enclave emptied in order to demolish it and build larger houses for sale.

Moslems retaliate.

After the attack on Manik Chowk, Moslems retaliated in another part of Aligarh and Hindus were the victims. The state (Uttar Pradesh) authorities sent in its Armed Constabulary, a notoriously prejudiced force which doesn't recruit Moslems.

Many of the deaths were caused by shooting by this force, rather than by the original gangs. Later, the central government sent in para-military units which are accepted as impartial, and which at the time of my visit were still patrolling the town.

People to whom I spoke said emphatically that the instigators were not the Hindus—or Moslems, as the case may be—who lived nearby, but gangs who roamed from place to place. There was fair confidence in the restoration of neighborly relations. Families who had fled their homes were already returning. I heard several stories of people being sheltered at the height of the trouble by those of the other religion. Altogether, it wasn't as bad as Belfast.

Elsewhere in Uttar Pradesh, mostly in scattered villages, there have been attacks by high-caste Hindus on harijans—the traditional "untouchables." These incidents, however, are in general a sign of long overdue social change. Harijans are always the poor of the village—landless laborers or sharecroppers.

More educated and politicized than ever before, they are standing up for their rights—demanding the land to which they are entitled under land reform schemes that the authorities try to ignore, or their

due share of the crops, or an end to the (illegal but not eradicated) system of bonded labor.

It's the militant harijan who gets beaten up or has his house burned down. But resistance cannot be subdued. In an Indian form, what's happening is something like the Freedom Summer of the American South.

Government embarrassed.

The government is acutely embarrassed by this lawlessness, since those responsible are often supporters of the ruling Janata party. It's Indira Gandhi, ousted as Prime Minister in 1977, who reaps the political benefit by posing as protector of the minorities, for whom she did remarkably little when she was in power. Outside reports of Mrs. Gandhi's "comeback," however, are much exaggerated.

She has achieved a lucky martyrdom by the government's incredibly maladroit tactics of jailing her on a token charge for a week, while failing to mount a real trial for her abundant misdeeds. Yet the government has a solid majority in Parliament and is unlikely either to fall apart or to be ousted before the elections due in 1982.

Still, and despite its material achievement, the government has wholly failed to give a new inspiration to the people, and has largely dissipated the goodwill with which it was endowed when it took office. The 83-year-old Prime Minister, Morarji Desai, appears insulated from outside opinion or from what's going on in places like Aligarh.

Interviewing him, I listened to a rambling series of philosophical musings and reminiscences from his early life, and found it hard to move the topic on to any live issue. In New Delhi—a capital even more insulated than Washington—conversation ranges chiefly on the squabbles between various ministers, on resignations which are "offered" and then withdrawn, and on a concatenation of sexual or financial scandals. Oddly, all of these concern the sons of leading politicians.

All of this doesn't do the government any good—but it doesn't have much to do with those villages in Rajasthan where people don't eat.

Ayatollah's chief engineer



Pro-Khomeini partisans defending one of thousands of bunkers in Tehran. This one is in front of the Parliament building.

By Fred Halliday

THE MAN NOMINATED BY AYATollah Ruhollah Khomeini to head the new government of Iran is Mehdi Bazargan, 73, an ambiguous figure who sums up the complex opposition movement that has toppled the Shah. He is a member of the modern intelligentsia, an engineer, and a veteran of the nationalist movement led by Dr. Mohammad Mossadeq 30 years ago. Bazargan was educated at the Sorbonne and taught engineering at Tehran University. During Mossadeq's regime he directed the National Iranian Oil Company and in the 1960s he founded a political group, the Iran Liberation Movement, which was part of the National Front coalition at that time.

But Bazargan is also a devout Muslim, and he has written a number of books on theological subjects. Despite its name, the Iran Liberation Movement is a rather right-wing nationalist group and Bazargan pulled it out of the National Front when the Front admitted to membership a small social-democratic party, the League of Iranian Socialists.

Bazargan also maintains a loose hold over some of the more radical forces within the Muslim movement. Many Islamic guerrillas originated in the youth group of Bazargan's organization and at one time tried, without success, to convert the old leader to these policies by giving him copies of the works of Mao Tse-tung.

The Muslim student leaders in exile who emerged as close advisers of Khomeini during his stay in Paris—Dr. Ibrahim Yazdi, 47, Sadegh Ghotbzadeh, 41, and Abdul Hassan Banisadr, 32—are all associates of Bazargan.

The tendency represented by Bazargan inside Iran is relatively reformist and engages in critical Islamic thinking. In the 1960s this tendency grew among Tehran intellectuals and students. The chief exponent of this thinking was Ali Shariati, a lay preacher whose shrine, the Hosseiniyeh Ershad, was bricked up by SAVAK,

traditional dogmatic concept of Islam as a religion and a guide to political action.

A long history.

The roots of Khomeini's appeal lie in the uneasy relationship that has long existed between Iranian monarchs and the Shi'a religion to which 93 percent of Iran's population adhere. Shi'ism originated as a schism within Islam, a revolt of the non-Arab, mainly Persian, subjects against the Arab caliphs, which also involved the

would rest with an elected assembly, with which the mullahs would have a major influence.

This assembly, or Majlis, was rarely able to function, but the mullahs have kept alive the belief in an Islamic commitment to popular resistance to foreign influence in Iran. Although severely restricted by the Shah Reza Pahlavi and his father, the mullahs were able to keep some independence from the state because the faithful, and in particular the merchants of the bazaar, pay them a fifth of their income as *zakat* or religious tax. It is generally held that the mullahs receive more in religious tax than the government in secular tax.

Khomeini made his mark during a brief liberalization experiment in the early '60s. The then leading Ayatollah of Iran, Burujirdi, died in 1961, leaving three competing Ayatollahs, one of them Khomeini.

In 1962, when he was teaching in the Faydiyeh Madrasah or Religious School in the pilgrimage town of Qom near Tehran, Khomeini began to attack the Shah's government. Apart from accusing it in general of defying the 1906 constitution and the Koran, Khomeini focused his attacks on the extraterritorial rights given to U.S. service men stationed in Iran. He was arrested in March 1963, on the anniversary of the martyrdom of a prominent Shi'a saint, and soon became the symbol of the opposition building up to the Shah's proposed reforms. In June 1963, after being released and making more hostile speeches, Khomeini was forced into exile and thousands of his followers were slain in the subsequent protests.

Mehdi Bazargan pulled his group out of the National Front when it admitted a social-democratic party.

the secret police, in the late '60s. Shariati was imprisoned and tortured, and later died in London. Other prominent political religious leaders, such as Ayatollah Mahmoud Taleghani, 74, were also jailed for similar activities.

The hold that Islamic thinking has on the urban young, therefore, owes a lot to Bazargan and the Muslim reformers associated with him. Like similar reformers in the Arab world over the past century, they have tried to evolve some reconciliation of modern science with Islam. Shariati emphasized the need for women to be given a full place in social life. Yet precisely because of the innovative claims of this Islamic vision, it is separated by a wide gap from the much more fundamentalist views of the Ayatollah Khomeini, who is firmly rooted in a much more

claim that the caliphs were not legitimate rulers. There is, therefore, a long history of opposition to what is seen as tyranny and illegal government, based on the Shi'a claim that there can be no truly legitimate government until the return of the Twelfth Imam, who went into hiding in the eighth century. In practice, this refusal of legitimacy is only selectively invoked.

Shi'a Islam became the official religion of Iran in 1502. This guaranteed some compromise between the mullahs, the Islamic officials, and the kings. But by the late 19th century the mullahs were hostile to the monarchy and to what they saw as undue foreign influence allowed by a tyrannical government. They combined with merchants and urban intellectuals to oppose the Shah and demand a constitution, promulgated in 1906, in which power

IRAN

CIA ignored agent's warning

AN INSIDER'S REPORT

By Nico Haasbroek

NEW YORK

The following is an interview conducted in New York with former CIA officer J.J. Leaf by Nico Haasbroek, correspondent for the Dutch newspaper, DE GROENE AMSTERDAMMER.

Could you explain what you did in Iran?

I was the Iranian CIA political analyst for the years 1969 to 1973.

And why did you leave the CIA?

Well, because of various problems I had at the agency. I wasn't going anywhere. My career had effectively ended because of the kind of reporting I was doing, and because of that I was being passed over. I decided there was no future for me there, there was no point in staying. I couldn't write the things I wanted to write. So I decided that it was better if I left.

For example, I wrote a report in 1972, which was published in 1973, in which I warned that there were dissident elements in the country. I named the peasant classes, the educated middle classes, the unemployed which were flocking to the cities, as a potential danger; I mentioned the religious leaders, who had a particular and important place in the country, as a problem. And I was ignored. The report was rewritten. They decided instead to place their emphasis on the communist dangers in Iran which didn't exist. So because of all this, and because of the narrow-mindedness of the bureaucrats in the CIA, I decided to say something in the hope that maybe there would be a restructuring or maybe an investigation of our intelligence apparatus.

And do you think that will happen?
No.

But what should have been advised by the CIA?

Well, at the time I wrote that the danger lay in the fact that the Shah was interested only in economic and military development, and was ignoring the social and political development in this country. This is always a dangerous situation. What we should have done, and what the U.S. always fails to do, was to tie our economic and military aid to the Shah with a promise for social development in the country; the development of political parties; the development of a viable opposition for the people to let off steam. What has happened time and time again is that pressure builds up within the population. There is a revolutionary explosion, which invariably turns out to be an anti-American, anti-Western revolution. And we lose another country, the allies lose another country.

It has happened time and time again. And this was going to happen in Iran, unless we acted. Well, we did not act. Once again, what we did was we allied ourselves with the power bloc of a country. It's the old question of 'Yeah, he's a despot, but he's our dictator,' which is old thinking and never has worked. That was what I was fighting against when I wrote these reports. As far back as 1970 I wrote that the Shah was a megalomaniac, that he was a bad leader, that he was looking for trouble. My reports were rejected; they weren't even allowed to be published. I was told that it was irresponsible to say things like that against the Shah—this was against established agency position.

And if you were a CIA-adviser at this moment, what would you advise? Is there any possibility to solve the problem or is it already too late?

Well, I don't think it's really too late. The process now is infinitely more complicated than it would have been several weeks ago. I think right now what we have to do is to lay low for a while to see

what happens. We can then make very careful overtures to the government. I expect a protracted period of instability and eventually a leftist government to finally take power.

Do you expect a civil war?

No, I don't think so—not in the traditional sense. I mean there's always civil war in Iran; there are always factions fighting against each other. There have been tribal conflicts in Iran for thousands of years.

Do you blame President Carter for the way the U.S. is dealing with Iran?

Well, you have to remember that Carter is both the victim and the cause of the intelligence-failure, which is why I'm

The CIA thought that because we gave the Shah money and he was building up oil reserves, the population should be happy.

mainly railing about the failure of intelligence. And if we go back to former presidents, we can blame them for failure of policy. Carter was pretty much in the dark as to what was going on there. He wrote a letter—after the Iranian assessment—that he was dissatisfied with the performance of our intelligence agencies, to his national security adviser Brzezinski. There have been ongoing investigations of the intelligence community in both the House and the Senate. I myself have been contacted by investigators of both the House and the Senate. I think now the tempo will be stepped up, because this is such a blatant miscalculation on our part. Carter is not to blame for this miscalculation. This is one of the few things I don't fault him on. But if he doesn't act, if he doesn't act positively and quickly, he will be to blame for the next one. Because what happened in Iran is just symptomatic of what's wrong with the whole intelligence service in this country—and, by extension, our foreign policy set up.

The policy makers in the U.S. are not, by and large, men who are concerned with subtleties and complexities of foreign policy. They see things in black and white: us against the communists. This is the way the CIA was set up, the way it operated, and still operates today. They don't understand the complexities of a population that is not satisfied with only economic development. They don't understand that there are other things that people want.

You know, they think that because we gave the Shah money and he was building up his oil reserves, the population should be happy. Well, not at all—as we have seen. They understand that maybe there is a communist party that tries to overthrow the government—that's all they want to hear.

Do you have any idea how American-Iranian relations will go on in the near future?

The population, as I said, is anti-American. I think that any government that expects to maintain longevity in Iran will have to at least pay lip-service to maintaining independence from American "domination." I think the oil will probably stop for a while and then will start again. They need the money. I don't think that the leadership in Iran is really anti-American. But for the sake of the population they have to maintain a neutral or slightly anti-American posture. Just for their own self-interest.

Do you think that there is any possibility to solve the problem in Iran?

Not in the immediate future, no. There are too many undercurrents, too many problems in the population. The extreme theocratic chauvinism there, the religious elements. There are the extreme nationalistic elements; there are still the strong pro-Western army elements. For the time being they have to sort out who they are. The Iranians don't know who they are, where they are—they were too quickly forced into the 20th century, and too much of who and what they are is still back in the 14th century. So this is going to have to be a sifting out and sorting out in their own national consciousness of who they actually are and where they're going.

The Shah created very quickly an educated middle class, but since there was no depth in the society, in the economy, there were no jobs for these people. He created them and then they had no place to go. There is a large pool of unemployed in the cities who have been rioting.

He gave land to the peasants, but the peasants didn't know what to do with the land when they got it, for there was no education—it was done too quickly. Most of them sold it back to their former landlords—they were worse off than they were in the first place. They were disaffected—the unskilled workers were disaffected. They also flocked to the cities and formed a pool of discontent.

Do you think that there are good signals that things will change in a better direction?

I like the Iranian people—and I've known a lot of Iranians. They are sensitive people. They are intelligent people. They are emotional people. They're very like the French. So once all this emotionalism is over, I think that some good sense will prevail, and they will sit back and take it easy. As long as the destructive political elements—by that I mean the extreme left wing elements and the destructive conservative elements, the extreme right-wing religious Islamic elements—are kept from power, there's hope for the country. I'm just afraid that they won't be because everybody else in the middle at this point are not united.

Did you do any reporting on the SAVAK and the torturing?

I was not involved directly in that aspect of it. I do know that one of my superiors was charged with organizing SAVAK in the '50s, when they decided to build an intelligence organization. And the best place to go, of course, is the U.S., because who else do you have to go to? The CIA was charged with organizing SAVAK as part of the normal course of developing interrogation techniques. There were extreme interrogation techniques taught, including torture. Now the U.S. teaches us, too. There are places like Fort Meyers that teach us how to react to torture, but they also teach techniques. How the textbooks are used, of course, is anybody's guess. I know they taught Nazi methods, they taught Russian methods. Iranians were very inventive in taking these and going a step further. The cases of torturing in Iran are well documented.

What can you tell about the links between the CIA and SAVAK?

In the early days they were very close. After all, SAVAK was the little brother of the CIA. We set them up, we organized them, we taught them everything we knew. But once they grew up, they became extremely wary of the CIA. Our people who were over there were constantly followed by SAVAK. We had to work extremely carefully in Iran. A lot of work we did was sharply proscribed. But we had plenty of stuff that they didn't know about.

Khomeini's political outlook is a mixture of what would in the West be seen as the religious and the political, the progressive and the reactionary. His central themes are the need for just government, an end to corruption and the enforcement of Muslim law. He certainly believes that Islam contains the answers to Iran's social and economic problems.

Separate but equal.

Although he opposed the expropriation of the waqf or religious endowment lands in the 1969 land reform, he does not now want to reverse the land reform. The old landowners were in any case handsomely compensated.

His position on women is an orthodox and undeniably reactionary one. His insistence that Islam guarantees the equality of men and women is an evasion, as doctrine and social practice in the Muslim world confirm. It is equality in the sense of "separate but equal." Until the 1967 family reform law in Iran, the mullahs quite happily administered the system of *sikhe*, or temporary marriage, which was a form of religiously sanctioned prostitution.

The form of Khomeini's Islamic Republic is as yet vague, but one key component, and a significant part of the meaning of the word "Islamic," is that it will be a nationalist regime. Through the opposition movements of the last three-quarters of a century it has been foreign influence, real, imagined or exaggerated, which has been a major focus of Iranian political opposition. Khomeini wants most foreigners to leave Iran. Economic and military ties with the West will certainly be reduced.

Fred Halliday is the author of Arabia Without Sultans. He is a fellow of the Transnational Institute, the International program of the Institute for Policy Studies.

ISRAEL

Dayan floats PLO balloon, draws flak

By David Mandel

JERUSALEM

On Feb. 13 Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan floated what could be an Israeli trial balloon concerning possible dealings with the Palestine Liberation Organization. He called it "more than just a terrorist organization," contradicting official Israeli policy, and said that its future participation in peace talks might be necessary.

Though Premier Menachem Begin and later Dayan himself insisted that the statement signalled no change in Israel's refusal to deal with the PLO, it was significantly different from any previous official pronouncements on the subject.

Some observers interpreted it not as a change in official policy but as Dayan's personal initiative aimed at forcing the government to make clearer decisions and to give him a broader mandate for his upcoming Camp David talks with Egyptian Foreign Minister Moustapha Khalil, Cyrus Vance and President Carter.

Earlier in the week, the Cabinet approved Dayan's participation in the talks but refused to debate the outstanding substantive issues, those concerning the proposed Palestinian autonomy. Many ministers opposed granting Dayan power to negotiate beyond the current impasse.

Whatever its initial motivation, the statement is already causing a political storm in Israel. Doves greeted it as a hopeful sign and hawks are demanding Dayan's resignation. The statement is sure to bring reaction from the Arab world, perhaps even from the PLO itself.

High School Tragedy

By Robert McClory

JUST ABOUT EVERYONE WHO HAD ANYTHING TO DO WITH St. Mary's Alternative High School agrees it was doing a fantastic job. Since it opened its doors in 1973 to Chicago's west side's dropouts and pushouts, it awarded more than 4000 diplomas. More importantly, it was succeeding where other adult programs sponsored by the City Colleges of Chicago were having trouble. Several years ago, the dropout rate at St. Mary's was less than 9 percent. Elsewhere it was 35 percent or higher. Best of all, some 80 percent of the folks who got their diplomas at this school were going on to college. St. Mary's, housed in recent years at Malcolm X College, was written up in educational journals and applauded by professionals and students. "I was behind St. Mary's from the start," says

Oscar Shabat, City Colleges chancellor. "It had high motivation, a high achievement level, and a lot of genuine dedication."

"If it hadn't been for that school, I never woulda made it," says Willie Lee Flye, a 1976 graduate at the age of 48 who is now well on her way to a bachelor's degree at the National College of Education. "There was so much personal attention and a feeling we were all there to learn together."

"St. Mary's was breaking new ground," says Aimee Horton, director of community expansion at Chicago's Columbia College and one of the first to see the potential of St. Mary's. "It reached people no one has been able to get through to."

"The school had an astounding record in helping people tackle the problems of their life as well as acquire the basic tools," says Thomas Heaney, director of community services at Northern Illinois University, and another early promoter of the St. Mary's concept.

So what happened? Well, in early December the trustees of the City Colleges—at Shabat's recommendation—fired the director at St. Mary's, laid off the staff, locked the doors, discontinued the \$300,000 annual funding, and told the 400 students to go somewhere else.

On the face of it, that doesn't make much sense. But in Chicago, sense, logic and consistency are often overwhelmed by other considerations.

"It came down to a stark, naked struggle for power," he declares. "They pushed me into a corner and gave me no way out. I didn't have a choice."

The people associated with the school saw the blow coming for a long time. St. Mary's Alternative High School was founded on the belief that traditional education is designed to perpetuate the oppression of poor people, women, and minority nationalities. And it was dedicated to awakening its students, 85 percent black and the rest Latino, to their own ability to change themselves and society.

There's a certain suspiciously leftist, socialistic, even revolutionary ring to that kind of talk. It's one thing to teach ghetto dwellers how to read welfare regulations and count their food stamps, but it's something else to fill their heads with wild ideas about attacking the system. In the downtown offices of the Chicago City Colleges and in the headquarters of the Chicago Urban Skills Institute (which directly oversaw the St. Mary's operation), there is no suggestion that the school's philosophy was viewed with alarm. Nevertheless, it is hard to understand why the folks who hold the purse strings could not, in the end, find some way to get along with an administration and staff

they regarded as talented, dedicated and, above all, successful.

Back in the early 1970s, a group of five women on the staff of St. Mary's Center for Learning, a Catholic girls' high school at 2044 W. Grenshaw, decided to launch a new grass-roots educational program for the adults in the area.

The five included a black (Joan Jeter Slay), a Latino (Isabelle Zayas), an Italian-American (Joanne Golio), and two former nuns (Renny Golden and Judy Andrews). All were convinced that the GED (General Educational Development) shortcut to a high school diploma was not a very effective tool for black and Latino adults living in crowded, depressed conditions. GED had originally been developed for white GIs whose education had been interrupted by World War II and who were highly motivated to make up for lost time. The five women believed another route was needed for the local clientele.

Golden was impressed with the approach of Paulo Freire, a Brazilian scholar who had worked out a system to educate the masses by making them reexamine critically the condition of their own lives. In his book *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Freire claimed that traditional education in any society serves the purpose of the dominant majority, by convincing the underclass to be content with their lot and realize it's their own fault they can't get ahead.

By the time kids get to high school, claimed Freire, they are imbued with a passive fatalistic attitude: it's not the social system that's at fault, but their own hopeless laziness and ignorance. Students, he said, readily accept the "banking model" of education. They come to school empty, ready to be "filled up" by their superiors. Or they get so discouraged they just quit coming. In either case, the hard questions are never asked and the system goes unchallenged.

Freire proposed a variety of techniques designed to break down the old "banking model," to make learning a collaborative process and to engage everyone in the most fundamental decisions affecting the program. He maintained that the poorer peasants could be aroused from their slumber by his methods and, in the process, learn to read and write. The government of Brazil eventually exiled Freire, but Fidel Castro put his ideas to work in Cuba in the early 1960s and later astounded a UN study team by reducing illiteracy on his island by 22 percent in just one year.

Thomas Heaney, who was on the staff of the Center for Continuing Education at Loop College, helped draw up a proposal for a new alternative high school using Freirean ideas, to be sponsored

jointly by City Colleges and St. Mary's Center for Learning. Heaney, Golden and the others were well aware of the irony of setting up a school for "radical consciousness within the citadel of a tradition-bound, higher educational system" but they felt the risks were worth taking.

Also impressed was Aimee Horton, then dean of the Center for Continuing Education and, like Heaney, brimming over with ideas about educating the urban poor. A public service grant was obtained and the program opened in the St. Mary's Learning Center facilities in January 1973, with 40 students attending classes nightly from 6 to 10. Their average age was 34.

For the next five years, St. Mary's Alternative High School and Joan Jeter Slay were almost synonymous. The tiny, peppy, youthful looking former organizer for the Woodlawn Organization was 38 when she became the school's first director. And she quickly put her stamp on the operation. Some say she gave too much. Many believe the alternative school would still be funded today if she were still in charge. Everyone agrees she has paid a heavy price for her dedication.

"From the beginning, we all had to hustle," says Slay, "but there was this sense of adventure and accomplishment."

In late 1973, the enrollment grew to 150 even though the school was budgeted for only 25. "I suppose we should have refused all those extra students," says Slay, "By December I had spent the whole budget for the school year and we had six months to go. Everybody hustled like mad just to provide the instructors and volunteers with \$50 a month for gas money." In March 1974, a grant from Chicago Community Trust took the pressure off for a while.

It looked like the pressure was off for good the following August, when Shabat attended the graduation ceremonies at the personal invitation of Horton and Slay. "I was deeply impressed," says Shabat. "And I assured Joan of full financial support from the City Colleges. I think where you put your money is more important than verbal accolades or praise."

Shabat put St. Mary's under the jurisdiction of his Chicago Urban Skills Institute, which oversees GED and other pre-college programs for 35,000 students around the city. When St. Mary's reopened in September, it had 650 students and the promise of a great future, with Renny Golden as the radical thinker, Slay as the no-nonsense doer, and Shabat as the enthusiastic angel in the wings.

"The first thing we realized is that adults get bored with the theoretical," says Slay, "so we developed a curriculum that was very, very practical. It was difficult for new teachers here at first, but they got used to it, or they moved on."

The science course, called "You Are What You Eat," used everyday diet as its starting point. A course in black political thought required a practical assessment by each student of his neighborhood; it culminated in a mock convention in which "representatives" were elected for the communities on the basis of their platforms. "It might have been labeled Social Studies," says Slay, "but no one would have signed up for that."

A course called "Math Without Tears" developed skills through the practical inducement of avoiding rip-offs by grocers and landlords. And a fundamental reading course was called "Ballpoint Ballpark," which really didn't mean anything but was considered more intriguing than

English 101. "A lot of our students had taken English courses in high school or GED," says Slay, "and even though they couldn't read their own name in capital letters on the side of a boxcar, they would have considered an ordinary reading course demeaning."

Other courses included "Curbside Law" (taught by lawyer volunteers), "Revolutionary History," and "Community Action" (which required 96 hours of work, with a neighborhood group or a coalition of block clubs).

St. Mary's also broke with the normal GED approach by giving credits for life-work experience. More than one-third of the credits necessary for graduation could be obtained in this way.

Then there was something called "Group," which was the only mandatory course in the curriculum. Group was essentially a round-table discussion in which eight to 12 students and a staff member talked about their work, family life, social problems, and personal resentments and joys. It was a combination of sensitivity training, mutual support, letting off steam, and overcoming shyness. But the long-range goal, according to Heaney, was "to rekindle hope among persons whose previous educational experience had resulted in failure."

The school was run by a governing board (as Freire advocated), which hired and fired staff, determined curriculum, approved all rules and regulations, and suspended or expelled students when necessary. The board was unique because full membership was open to all students. Ordinarily, about 30 students functioned on the board, along with three instructors and one administrator, although as many as 60 students sometimes took part. Since all decisions could be arrived at only through consensus of the total body, meetings tended to be long and loud.

To the outsider, the St. Mary's model might appear an ideal setting for frustration, confusion, mayhem, and the perpetuation of fundamental ignorance. In practice something else happened. "The students proved to be tougher and more demanding of themselves than we would ever be," says Slay. "They laid down the law, and believe me, there was no goofing off at that school—not even a joint or a bottle of wine."

Word that something interesting was happening spread quickly. Of the 650 students who started in 1974, 529 had been previously enrolled somewhere else in a GED program, and 515 of those hadn't stayed around long enough to take the final GED exam. At St. Mary's that year, the dropout rate was less than 8 percent. In 1976 the enrollment was 940, with a waiting list of 1500. "The students were making it," says Slay, "and they were moving on to college level and doing better than they ever had in their lives."

The students were also becoming more visible and vocal outside the academic world. Freire contended that downtrodden peasants learn best when they are wrestling with immediate social problems, and St. Mary's tried to prove him right. As part of their course work, students were participating in local political campaigns—generally on the side of anti-Machine independents. They were working with protest groups and even joining picket lines at City Hall on occasion.

And they were embarrassingly visible in Springfield in the summer of 1975, when the legislature was preparing to slash the appropriation for continuing education. Although the cuts would affect all



Joan Slay

students in the City College system, the only contingent on hand at the capitol on the day of voting was the St. Mary's student body—250 strong, under the direction of Slay and Horton. Apprised of the turnout, Shabat quickly flew to Springfield and negotiated a partial compromise with the help of representatives Eugene Barnes and Jesse Madison; most of the proposed cuts were approved, but St. Mary's was spared. In the drab Chicago City College system, this school was acquiring a personality of its own.

Because of its connection with St. Mary's Learning Center, the alternative school had its own diploma-granting authority from the North Central Association—an advantage it retained even after the learning center's funds were cut by the Catholic Archdiocese, and a factor that made St. Mary's Alternative High School a prestigious clog in the City College system. Shabat's CUSI centers had no such power and still do not.

In 1975, the learning center, which had struggled on without church funds for several years, was forced to close down. The building was leveled and Slay's thriving program, still retaining degree-granting authority, was homeless. Shabat stepped forward and offered the school a refuge in Malcolm X College, just a few blocks away.

"It was downhill from the day we got there," says Slay. "It was one living hell."

All the way back in 1973, there were indications that City Colleges bureaucrats weren't delighted with radical educational ideas. Horton and Heaney had to fight just to obtain the preliminary grant. The Chicago Urban Skills Institute (CUSI), which directly funded the program, was uncooperative from the start, says Slay, holding up funds repeatedly and making peculiar and arbitrary demands.

When the operation shifted to Malcolm X, the very lair of the City College system, the conflict blew wide open. "The people there were crazy," says Slay. "They'd assign us a room and then kick us out. We couldn't get the use of a duplicating machine. They would take the desks out of the rooms. The teachers in our program wanted to kill me and I wanted to kill myself."

In desperation, Slay put together an 83-page bill of grievances and presented it to Shabat and to Payton Hutchison, the head of CUSI and a man with whom she was constantly squabbling.

"Well, I did everything I could," says Shabat, who still admits a great respect for Slay and her efforts. "I called in my people from Malcolm X and CUSI and I

City Colleges and City Hall pols hated St. Mary's for teaching too well. They sabotaged, intimidated and finally closed it down.

told them to cooperate. I couldn't decide who was right or who was wrong in each case, so I tried to transcend individual gripes and arrange compromises."

"I can't deny Shabat tried to help," says Slay, "but it never had any lasting effect. We'd have a meeting and he would say, 'Stop picking on that poor girl.' But nothing changed. I think the CUSI and Malcolm X officials hated and resented us. I took a lot of shit and so did the students."

In early 1978, Slay got sick. Her doctor said it was a lot more serious than it first appeared and he ordered her to quit work. Joan Jeter Slay left St. Mary's last March, spent six weeks in the hospital, and has been so exhausted since that there was no thought of her returning.

Slay's successor as director was Irene Miranda, a 27-year-old Mexican-American from the west side, who was a science teacher and curriculum coordinator at the school. Miranda was a committed disciple of the Freire approach. She was also tough and aggressive. But she lacked Slay's skills as a politician and tactician in an extremely hostile world. Her troubles started immediately.

From the day it opened, the St. Mary's Alternative High School had been governed by principles theoretically incompatible with state regulations. The Illinois Public Community College Act, as amended in 1965, says that only a city college board can hire and fire staff, that the power cannot be delegated. At St. Mary's, the school's governing board had been exercising that prerogative for six years. The contradiction had been resolved through creative compromise. The governing board at St. Mary's made the appointments, but they were subject to final approval by Shabat and his trustees.

"I always took their recommendations," says Shabat. "They knew the people they were dealing with and they had tough requirements."

But this gentleman's agreement broke down in early 1978. Undoubtedly, the collapse stemmed from the fact that the overall CUSI operation was then under fire for keeping sloppy books and misusing state funds. It had even been required to return \$3.7 million to the state. CUSI director Hutchison, unfriendly to St. Mary's from the start, was becoming adamant about any program's special privileges and independence.

In March 1978, a CUSI auditor went over the St. Mary's books. In a preliminary verbal report, he recommended that the school's administrators be made full-time instead of part-time employees and he urged more supplies for the school. But Miranda has never been able to obtain a copy of the written report, if one was ever submitted.

Matters really heated up in the summer, after Miranda charged that a CUSI official had fired her on the spot over the telephone for refusing to bring him some forms instantly. When word got around, there was a total student walkout in support of Miranda and the firing was rescinded.

Shabat then decided that St. Mary's needed a new director, one appointed by the City Colleges trustees, as the state statute requires, not by the school's governing board. Miranda and the other administrators insisted that would be a betrayal of what the school always stood for. For several months, there was a standoff on the ultimatum.

Meanwhile, back at Malcolm X College, a worse situation was getting awful. Miranda complained that college security men were escorting her staff out of the building like convicts and were forbidding overtime work. Use of classrooms was more restricted than ever, and iron gates were erected to keep St. Mary's staff out of their offices except at approved times.

The St. Mary's administration was at the end of its rope on Nov. 15, when it

met with Hutchison and was told that the newly chosen director was Clarence Luckett, a man none of them had ever heard of. "When I asked what his qualifications were," says Miranda, "I was told he was six-feet-two and weighed 240 pounds."

She says she was also told that most of the successful and innovative classes would have to be dropped and that the school's governing board must be disbanded. Two days later, the student body met and agreed (by consensus, as usual) to reject these changes. When the City College's board of trustees held its regular meeting on Dec. 5, 50 students picketed the affair and demanded a full hearing. The following day they staged a sit-in at Shabat's office.

"The real issue was control," says Shabat. "They said, 'We're an entity unto ourselves. We're running this school, not you.' They challenged my authority. I couldn't tolerate that."

On Dec. 8, the day Luckett was scheduled to take over, St. Mary's called a press conference at their offices in the college. The Malcolm X administration cancelled it and left the reporters locked outside. At high noon, Hutchison entered the St. Mary's offices with Luckett and said, "Well, here's your new home."

"Oh no it ain't," said several burly students in the immediate vicinity. "We're not accepting you, period."

Shabat was promptly informed of the mutiny. He called Miranda and got the news from her firsthand. "Irene," he said, "I'm personally suspending you without pay for insubordination and defiance."

On Dec. 18, the trustees of the City Colleges officially voted to close the school because "a number of staff members, training specialists, and students refused to recognize Mr. Luckett as supervisor; instead, these persons insisted that their groups would determine who the supervisor would be." Fired were the school's six administrators, including Miranda, and 49 faculty members. The students were directed to the 17 evening high schools under CUSI direction to obtain their diplomas in a more traditional style.

Uncertainty and confusion remains. Friends and supporters of St. Mary's have vowed to reopen the school soon as an independent operation, but it will be difficult (to say the least) to raise the \$300,000 budget from goodwill offerings.

Meanwhile, nagging questions go begging for answers. Could the school have survived if it had bent to the demands? Or would anything have been achieved except a final bureaucratic takeover? Why was this modest little operation such a threat to CUSI and Malcolm X personnel? And why did Shabat finally turn the screws after defending the school against its enemies for years? There are many theories.

Aimee Horton, who mothered St. Mary's and other innovative programs while dean at Loop College, feels the school "just didn't fit conveniently into any administrative box. It had a life of its own. It was a threat." Horton herself finally left the City College system after her creative position at Loop College was phased out of existence and she was relegated to teaching Social Science 101.

Tom Heaney, another pioneer of the project, wonders if the death warrant might have originated in City Hall. St. Mary's students had been extremely active in voter registration efforts, he notes, as well as in the battle against the Machine's choice to replace Rep. Ralph Metcalfe in Congress.

Irene Miranda suspects CUSI really wanted direct control over St. Mary's because it was the only one of the system's high school facilities with diploma-granting power; when the takeover was opposed, the whole project was scuttled in retaliation.

Or maybe somebody just didn't like the idea of spreading the ideas of a Brazilian revolutionary around the west-side ghetto—and at taxpayers' expense.

The official explanation is Shabat's: "It came down to a stark, naked struggle for power."

Given the unequal sides in the controversy, there could have been little doubt about the outcome.

EDITORIAL

Debate needed on left Road to 1980

In this issue, we are publishing an interview with Rep. Ron Dellums (D-CA) as the first in a series of views by left political and trade union leaders on The Road to 1980. Our purpose is to help revive a strong left presence in the American political arena, as part of the process of finding ways to make socialism relevant to the major issues of our time.

For decades socialism as a political program has had no sustained presence in American politics. Yet, as Dellums indicates in the interview, a majority of the American people could be won to a socialist program; if it were brought to them in a serious and sustained way.

In the past year or two, in the face of the increasing bankruptcy of liberalism, political and trade union activists and leaders have begun to grapple with this problem. Their activity has taken a variety of forms, but has received very little public notice.

Last year, for example, Zolton Ferency ran as a socialist in the Michigan Democratic primary for the gubernatorial nomination. Though he lost, he placed second with 25 percent of the vote, in a field of four candidates. Two socialists ran as Democratic candidates for the state assembly in Maine; one, Harlan Baker, was elected, the other, Russ Christensen, lost by 39 votes. Two years ago, Ruth Messinger was elected as a Democrat to the New York City Council, and several socialists around the country have run for city council seats, for state legislatures or for other offices.

In some areas, particularly where elections are nonpartisan, people have run as independent socialists. Ken Cockrel was elected last year as an independent socialist to the Detroit city council. And there have been campaigns by socialist third parties, such as that of the Peace and Freedom Party in California, which received almost half a million votes for its candidate for secretary of state last November.

In the trade unions, there has also been new movement. William Winpinger, president of the International Association of Machinists, has publicly called for democratic socialist alternatives to traditional liberalism. Recently, the Machinists general vice-president suggested that a third party of labor and the left might be necessary in the near future. Douglas Fraser, president of the United Auto Workers, has put together a coalition of left and socialist organizations called the Progressive Alliance to map new political initiatives.

Compared to the organizational strength and activities of the new right, all of this does not amount to much. But for the socialist left, these activities, if continued and developed in a cooperative and constructive way, will be a giant step forward. They are—or at least they can be—the beginning of an American left revival, and one far more broadly based than the New Left of the '60s or the old left of the previous decades.

This is so for several reasons. First, the developing movement has substantial strength among union leaders and activists, and includes black and women activists and leaders, as well as large sections of the environmental and anti-war groupings. In short, it is based in all of the social and sectoral groups needed for a successful working class politics.

Second, there is a distinct tendency in the emerging movement to view corporate capitalism and the effects of its investment policies as the issue, and socialist-oriented alternatives, not merely regulatory or fiscal reforms, as the only

This interview with Rep. Ron Dellums (D-CA) was conducted by Alan Sniow, news director of station KPFA in Berkeley, Calif. In the interview, Dellums discusses his views on the development of a viable left in American politics, as well as the possibility of his running as a socialist in the Democratic presidential primaries against President Carter next year.

The interview is the first in a series of articles that we plan to publish on building a socialist presence in American politics in 1980. These pieces will present a range of views of leading political and trade union figures on the left. Among them will be advocates of socialist participation in the Democratic Party, of independent socialist politics and of labor party politics. There will also be advocates of concentration on building local political movements and on local office holding, as well as advocates of a challenge on the presidential level. IN THESE TIMES does not endorse any of these positions or the exclusion of others at this time. We do think it is vital for the left to air these views, to consider them seriously and to act upon those that show promise of creating a viable movement for socialism in the U.S.

If there is a movement on the right, there's also been movement toward the left. At the California Federation of Labor convention here in San Francisco, for example, there was disaffection with Jerry Brown. And UAW president Douglas Fraser has been talking of new political initiatives. Do you see an arena for this kind of discussion?

That's not an easy question. Initially, I thought that in Proposition 13's home state we could begin to look at alternative approaches to their budgets, city councils would begin to generate discussion among the citizenry to find out whether people are prepared to stand on humanistic values and to support creative proposals. Unfortunately, I have not seen that begin to emerge in California. But I would love to see activity at the grass roots level, because the U.S. Congress is totally incapable of addressing the priorities of the nation. It is now a wholly ineffective and inadequate mechanism.

We're going to have to move on many levels: at the local level, unions are beginning to examine an alternative to the Democratic and Republican parties, particularly if they do not pose a significant alternative to the right-wing mania, and certainly if the Democrats are not willing to stand firm and speak to the best interests of workers, the poor, the black and women, students and senior citizens—who traditionally have been the Democrats' constituents.

But we've got to begin to have voices stand up and be heard who are not willing to cave in to the right—because if we don't emerge as advocates from the left, then tremendous conflict will occur in this country between the haves and the have-nots. This may very well be the most profound moment in the history of this country—certainly in modern times. We people working in health, for example, and using your health bill. But there has been no unified effort. The right has unified very effectively, with Jarvis-Gann, with the call for tax reduction. Do you see how to create an arena for all the local constituencies?

Perhaps the next municipal elections—because they do focus exclusively on the local level—may be the vehicle to start discussion about what is important in our communities. Local election campaigns can allow people who are willing to talk

THE ROAD TO 1980

Dellums would bring socialism into 1980 election campaign



"I'm humbled and excited by the discussion of my having the credibility to run for President."

about the real implications of Prop. 13 to emerge as candidates and to begin to look at the larger questions—inefficiency, inappropriate priorities, and finally the tremendous tax burden on working people.

I hope that our next elections become the catalyst for the community stopping for a moment and saying, "Wait, where are we going; where are we; what do we perceive as important; how are we going to relate to our fellow human beings in the community, whether they're black, brown, red, yellow, white, workers, poor. These campaigns could begin to move us away from personality contests and power struggles that tend to characterize local elections and put candidates out there who are willing to talk and debate and stimulate discussion."

What about the problem that's posed by Gov. Jerry Brown's reelection last November, given his move to the right? It's likely that Brown will challenge Carter for the 1980 Democratic nomination. Do you think it's possible for an alternative candidate to debate critical issues that may very well not come forward if a left candidate is not out there, and second, mobilize a constituency that is there but is not articulated. I believe that makes sense, given the lineup you've indicated.

That's the only way to stimulate honest debate and to mobilize the constituency out there that includes not only the socialist left, blacks, other Third World people, women, senior citizens, et cetera, but also trade unionists—and potentially the farmers who come to Washington con-

needs to emerge in 1980.

One other further point: When you look at America, and I think it's implicit and explicit in people's response to Prop. 13, fear is an incredible dynamic in our society. Fear permeates virtually all aspects of our lives, including the electoral process. That fear has given rise to politicians who have internalized the fear or who reflect the fear or who acquiesce in the fear. But how can politicians who are products of fear, who are fearful themselves, lead a nation when we desperately need strong leadership in a humane and sensitive direction. The cowardly, the expedient, the fearful will not lead America at this critical moment. If a progressive candidate emerged who was courageous enough to say there are creative alternatives, the majority of American people who are not being heard from now would rally to that kind of integrity and courage. I think they're tired of lying, fearful, expedient politicians. I have faith in people's ability to rally to a clean and honest alternative, particularly if we have the resources to force a public debate. I'm overwhelmingly enthusiastic for it.

One of the concerns that I've had is whether or not you could run a campaign associated with a socialist organization. Tom Hayden didn't do that and has moved away from talking about socialism. But it seems an obstacle that may be more fictitious than real.

I think the notion of economic democracy embraces the principle we're talking about. People understand that if you have no economic power, you can't have political power, and if the power over investment is in the hands of a very few people, then the people can't have political power.

If social decisions are weighted heavily in the favor of major corporate interests in our society, then how can those decisions be just, as regards the majority of people? We need to begin to look at such questions. We need to begin to look at whether or not some of the functions that have traditionally been in the private sector should still be there, particularly those that have a great impact on the public. Health, for example. This year we're going to spend \$200 billion on health. It's a major industry, dominated by the private sector. It is perceived as a private service. Can we continue to see the delivery of health service as private? Can we continue to sell health services in the marketplace, the way we sell a Mercedes-Benz or fur coats or diamond rings? I believe not. But the American people at least need to discuss those things.

Also, I think we need to discuss within the framework of the notion of economic democracy whether or not a job, health care, health, etc., ought to be rights. The very basic things in life ought to be rights. We have traditionally gotten caught up in perceiving the word "socialism" as negative. Socialism is a broad, positive term. We need to talk about where we want to take the society and what our values are. And within the framework of economic democracy, we can explore these questions.

Should the railroads be nationalized as a service to the American people? Should health service—should there be the framework of all this madness from the right and all these limitations. Now is the time and the opportunity to begin to talk about these issues. If there's going to be any integrity at all to the debate, then we've got to be willing to say that all sectors of our political arena need to be heard and from the left, from the progressive forces in our nation, there are ideas that have not emerged because of the negative atmosphere that has dominated the political arena.

—Transcribed by Helen Kingsbury

democratic solution.

Without neglecting the crucial work of non-electoral organizing, the new activity directs itself to the electoral arena, on the understanding that politics consists of the struggle for the control of government and the power to legislate public policy.

These strengths, however, are as often implicit in the emerging movement as they are explicit. As our series on the Road to 1980 will indicate, there is a diversity of opinion about how to proceed in building a viable socialist left. The major problem, as we see it, is how to bring about a realignment in the two-party system that opens the way to socialism becoming a pivotal component of major party politics. Visible activity along this line is now going on both within and without the Democratic party. Within it, people and organizations (among whom the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee is playing a leading role) believe that the most fruitful way to proceed at present is to build a socialist tendency in the Democratic Party.

Others advocate third party politics of one kind or another, and still others think that it is best to concentrate on local, largely nonpartisan activity.

We see all of these manifestations as healthy. But what is urgently needed at present is a vigorous, open, and probing debate on the development of socialist and left politics in America. As liberalism disintegrates and the right grows, the left cannot afford the luxury of trusting in the blind drift of "objective conditions" or basking in sectarian isolation.

We invite our readers to respond to the views and proposals that will appear in our ongoing exploration of the Road to 1980.

For big business it's Lucky 13

The first property tax payments in California since the passage of Proposition 13 last June gives a clear idea of its real impact.

Proposition 13 was promoted as the multi-purpose patent medicine that would relieve homeowners of a heavy tax burden, release money to the private sector for the creation of more jobs, reduce costs to allow lower prices and rents, decentralize economic and political power, and restore local autonomy. It turns out that its impact will be just the opposite on all counts.

A *Wall Street Journal* (Feb. 13) survey of California businesses shows virtually no price reductions as a result of tax savings. Some companies have enlarged their charitable donations, but largely in a one-shot action to appease public opinion. Afterward, as United California Bank chairman Norman Barker Jr. says, "it will be business as usual." As Californians already know, moreover, there has been little in the way of rent rollbacks.

The *Journal's* survey also failed to discover any significant rise in job-creating investment. Tax reductions in investible quantities are going largely to companies already swimming in liquidity and unwilling to bid up wages with greater demand for labor or expand capacity with the prospect of a recession on the horizon.

Homeowners are in for a larger tax bite. As homes exchange hands in the market, assessments will rise to market values. Assessments on commercial and industrial properties will meanwhile remain low, as

such properties are less frequently sold. As a result, business property taxes, observes *Business Week* (Nov. 13, 1978), "will yield a dramatically declining proportion of state and local revenues and homeowners will be carrying a much heavier share of the burden."

In addition, state and local income taxes will have to make up for the reduced property tax revenues, shifting the tax burden further to individuals and away from corporations, since state income tax rates are graduated for individuals and flat for business.

Of the \$6.4 billion in tax reductions under Proposition 13, homeowners are getting \$2.3 billion and landlords, \$1.2 billion. But the largest cut, \$2.9 billion, goes to commercial and industrial property owners.

Under pressure from the California Public Utilities Commission, not by voluntary action, the electric, telephone, and water corporations are remitting \$264.4 million to consumers. But even here the lion's share goes to the large business customers, not to residential customers, who on the average have received, for example, a cut of 22¢ per month (less than 1 percent) on their electricity bills.

Nearly half of the total tax savings under Proposition 13 will go to Washington in the form of reduced federal tax write-offs for state and local property tax payments.

The bulk of the California tax savings, then, is flowing to the already great power centers—to large corporations and the

federal government.

All this means, as *Business Week* candidly concluded, "a sharp acceleration of the centralization of political and economic decision-making." As states like California run out of their current ephemeral budget surpluses, as local governments' revenues continue to decline, they will have to turn even more than now to Washington, which currently contributes over one-fifth of combined state and local budgets (federal grants-in-aid alone are larger than the entire federal deficit).

In sum, given large corporate domination in the private sector, Proposition 13 and other measures like it will intensify the concentration of wealth and power, and undermine local initiative and autonomy.

In gulling the people, the shills on the right have nevertheless revealed some basic realities about American class relations, perhaps more indelibly (and more painfully) than dozens of left-wing pamphlets.

"When the public wakes up to what is happening," rues *Business Week*, "business could well be in for it...[in the form of] a flood of new business taxes and perhaps a progressive income tax." Or, as National Conference of State Legislatures president Jason Boe predicts, "The revolt against business will make Jarvis-Gann look like a kindergarten." If the Jarvises and Gannns have sent us all to school, we are quickly graduating from their kindergarten to a higher education. And 13 will not long remain business' lucky number. ■

LETTERS

PET PEEVES

ONE OF JOHN JUDIS' PET PEEVES WAS that "one Ohio left wing activist snappily refused to talk to me when he found out where I was from" (ITT, Jan. 23). Judis also boasts that "right wing fanatics and corporate lobbyists wined and dined me and invited me to their homes."

A political editor of a socialist journal should not be peeved and naive. Some honest questioning or self-criticism on the part of Judis should have proven to him that the left wing activist shunned him because he doesn't trust a journalist who is palsy walsy with right-wing fanatics and corporate lobbyists. It's as simple as that "comrade" Judis.

My hat's off to you for your spread on "Power Brokers." This is valuable information. But, why did you deliberately eliminate the name of Karl Marx from the document referred to above, quoting Column 1, last sentence: "To paraphrase a memorable power researcher of the 19th Century, a people make their own history, only they do not make it as they please." Were you afraid to be red-baited for mentioning Marx's name as well as to quote Marx's actual words instead of embellishing and vulgarizing?

Morris Pasternak
New York

Editor's Note: The purpose of IN THESE TIMES is to end the isolation of socialists by producing a newspaper that doesn't talk just to its tiny band of loyal adherents. To do that we talk to everyone active in public life (when we get the chance). To be suspect because we are part of the real world is good.

PALESTINE

TO A NEW WHO HINTE MONISM UNEN-gaging, the Mideast is a canker of pain and confusion. But the unsympathetic and near sighted views so often found in ITT (e.g., A. Michael Polizzi's letter of Jan. 24) induce me to offer my own conclusions.

1. The founding of a Jewish state in Palestine is basically part of the same nationalistic wave that led to the creation of Syria, Jordan and Saudi Arabia only a few decades earlier—and will see the establishment of a Palestinian state in the near future. Furthermore, while the first immigrants to Israel were largely European, over 50 percent of the Jewish population is now so-called Orientals, whose culture is indigenous and who have fled the "hospitality" of Arab states.

2. Since independence, the typical attitude of most Israelis and their governments has been thankfulness for what they have, not expansionism. A willingness to return Sinai to Egypt in exchange for a treaty is not expansionism, nor is a desire for borders offering minimal protection from invasion and harassment.

3. The refusal of neighboring Arab countries (whose borders are virtually as recent and arbitrary as Israel's) to participate in an effort to create an area for a Palestinian homeland is cynical and self-serving. Did Jordan offer the West Bank to the Palestinians before Israeli occupation?

4. Young Palestinians are being taught hatred—whether of Jews or Israelis makes little difference. Groups that instill vicious stereotypes and foment murderous intent cannot be defended, even if their cause is just.

5. Any group—Jewish, Arab, Palestinian, Israeli, capitalist, Marxist—that can only say what others "should do," with no offer of what they will do to create a Palestinian homeland, recognition of Israel and peace, is not to be trusted.

Richard Stone
Fresno, Calif.

ITT AWARD

Women in Design, the national organization of women designers, awarded Certificates of Excellence to Diane Kavelaras, designer of IN THESE TIMES' logo, to Kerry Tremain, the paper's art director, and to IN THESE TIMES. The Certificates were awarded in a national competition of work from the period 1972-1977. Kavelaras is a Chicago-based design artist and art director of Cuisine magazine.

ONEMAN'S NEWARK

T.D. ALLMAN'S PIECE ON NEWARK (ITT, Jan. 10) reads like hype for the Chamber of Commerce. There's mention of new construction, health statistics showing improvement, rising museum attendance, and successful urban renewal projects. Ending with Mayor Gibson's quote "Wherever America is going, Newark will get there first."

A drive through Newark is enough to dissolve such optimism. All of Allman's hopeful statistics cannot erase the human suffering in the streets. Dilapidated housing; gutted, burned-out buildings; children playing in filthy lots; wild dog packs; unemployed men, young and old, warming themselves around garbage fires in scenes reminiscent of the Great Depression. The schools, many built over a century ago, are vandalized and deteriorating. The children inside wear coats to keep from freezing. The level of reading among Newark schoolchildren is much lower than in New York City, whose own reading levels are nothing to boast of.

Are the people of Newark really living better lives than they were ten years ago, as Allman cheerfully asserts? Few will speak of the terrific bargains made available by depressed housing values. But most of Newark's residents are too concerned with finding jobs and feeding families to dabble in real estate speculation. And most of Newark's real estate is being bought up by Prudential and other big-money people. Big profits are often made at the expense of the citizens in poor areas.

And what about those improved health statistics, that lead us (falsely) to believe that health standards in Newark are satisfactory? A closer look reveals that the health of Newark's residents has risen to the same level as that of other slum areas.

Contrary to Allman's talk of job programs and new opportunities for the unemployed, jobs are moving out of Newark, out of New Jersey, out of the country. New Jersey, a manufacturing state, has lost over half of its industry in the past ten years. These industries are now found in Taiwan, Brazil, South Korea, and other cheap labor, non-union business havens. While America wonders whether or not there will be a new recession, Newark wonders whether or not its depression will ever end.

Michelle Martin
New York

ASSUME A VIRTUE!

I AGREE WITH MIKE LAVELLE THAT the American left ought not to be silent about "the barbarisms of left-wing police states."

But I think he is dead wrong in suggesting that we ought not make fundamental criticisms of America, and that if we do, we are unpatriotic.

"You do not call your mother a base whore and then proceed to preach virtue to her," writes Lavelle. What about Hamlet, Act II, Scene IV, wherein the prince charges his mother with

Such an act
That blurs the grace and blush of
modesty.

*Calls virtue hypocrite, takes off the rose
From the fair forehead of an innocent
love*

*And sets a blister there, makes marriage
vows*

*As false as dice's oaths,
indeed, with living "in the rank sweat of
an enseamed bed, Stew'd in corrup-
tion"; whereafter he entreats her:*

*Confess yourself to heaven;
Repent what's past; avoid what is to
come;*

*...go not to mine uncle's bed;
Assume a virtue, if you have it not.*

Some of us feel the same way about our country.

—Staughton Lynd
Niles, O.

SNEERING AND FALSE?

DAVID MANDEL'S ARTICLE (ITT, JAN. 31) is one-sided and prejudiced. Mandel quotes interviews with Palestinian leaders, but none with Israeli leaders. Any Israeli leader would have discussed the right of Israel to exist, which is the basis for the occupation of the West Bank. He would have asked, What is the PLO position? And answered it is that Israel has no right to exist. But Mandel omitted this entire question and, therefore, could not be objective.

In addition, he has a sneering and false attitude towards Israel. Read this from his article, referring to Israelis: "Their feelings may range from reluctant realism (Dayan) to naive enthusiasm (Peace Now), but the pro-American concern unites them." It seems that the Israelis range from "reluctant" to "naive," according to Mandel. The fact is that what has always, and still does, unite Israelis, as an objective observer knows, is the struggle for survival. Apart from that struggle, in their democratic system, they have many views, many political parties, and many differences.

As for the U.S. role in Israel, it is to the credit of this country that it has been crucial to the survival of the Jewish people during the last 30 years. And in their good sense, a big majority of the American people understand this.

I wish ITT would dig deeper into this whole matter, and become more objective.

—Lee Marsh
Berkeley, Calif.

EXCEPTIONALLY EXCEPTIONAL

YOUR ISSUE OF FEB. 7 ARRIVING YESTERDAY is filled with valuable articles, all of intense personal interest to me. That this number should appear exceptional is of itself exceptional, for no other paper I read consistently maintains such high quality of editorial content.

—Curtis S. Laughlin
Portland, Me.

ROBESON'S MARXISM

CONGRATULATIONS ON CHUCK HOPKINS' perceptive review of the books by Sterling Stuckey and Philip Foner on Paul Robeson (ITT, Jan. 31).

Stuckey meticulously researched his subject and is correct in his evaluation of my father's views. Foner's narrow and distorted perspective is based on superficial research. His statement that it was Robeson's study of Marxism that led him to "advance from being a champion of African nationalist movements to advocacy of African national liberation movements" is grossly oversimplified. It tends to obscure, rather than to clarify, my father's political development. The fact is that his identification with African and other eastern values was central to his identification with other exploited and oppressed peoples.

Foner's contention that: "It is significant that [Robeson] began to study Marxism only after his first visit to the Soviet Union" is refuted by Paul Robeson himself in his book, *Here I Stand*, written in 1957: "It was in London in the years that I lived among the people of the British Isles...that my outlook on world affairs was formed."

My father left no doubt as to where he stood concerning the independence of the black liberation movement: "Effective Negro leadership must rely upon and be responsive to no other control but the will of their people.... For no matter how well-meaning other groups may be, the fact is our interests are secondary at best with them."

—Paul Robeson Jr.
Brooklyn, N.Y.

PERCEPTIVE AND CONSTRUCTIVE

THANK YOU FOR THE INVITATION TO comment on your editorial, "Socialists and the Indo-China War" (ITT, Jan. 17). Our editorial board read and discussed your editorial. We support the conclusions you reached:

1. "At the present writing, with the little information available, it seems to us that Vietnam is without justification in its invasion of Kampuchea. This notwithstanding the fact that the Pol Pot regime's brutalities in subordinating human needs and values to a preconceived system of production, rather than organizing production to serve developing human needs, are odious to us, as to others, and are not consistent with our ideas of socialism."

2. "American socialists, we believe, should not take the side of one against the other in the Vietnam-Kampuchea conflict."

3. "...We should seek to influence American foreign policy toward speedy diplomatic relations with and generous aid to both Vietnam and Kampuchea, as well as Laos, and toward 'de-linking' American Indochina policy from its China and Soviet policy."

We think ITT is doing a valuable service to the American left by raising such issues in an independent, perceptive and constructive way.

—Morris U. Schappes, Editor
for the Editorial Board
Jewish Currents

AN EXERCISE IN FUTILITY

YOUR REVIEW OF SEX, CLASS AND Culture (ITT, Jan. 17), which was also a critique of *The Women's Room*, made many good points. But as too often with left reviewers, the reviewer forgets that an author's main objective in a capitalist economy must be to write a salable book. It's easy to criticize a book's "ideological flaws," but books we might consider politically super aren't worth much if they don't get published.

Whatever one may think of *The Women's Room*, none can deny that the book is doing well, and for authors who must make a living on their work, that's the name of the game. Books heavy on ideology generally don't sell well, so more and more publishing houses are shying away from them. It would be great if socialist and feminist novels were in such demand that bookstores were filled with them, but that just isn't the case.

If leftist critics wish to blame a book for not being feminist enough, blame the institutions that mold public tastes and create the demand for "trash novels." But blaming individual authors, who are forced to cater to the public and thus to what publishing houses will print, strikes me as futile.

—Tyrone Walls
Chicago

CORRECTION

For the story on Cleveland last week (p. 12) by Alexander Cockburn and James Ridgeway, the acknowledgement to the Village Voice, where it was first published, was inadvertently omitted.

Both pictures on last week's cover should have been credited to Richard Stromberg.

Editor's Note: Please keep letters under 250 words. Otherwise, we must make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, please type and double space letters, or at least write clearly and leave wide margins.

JOHN CONYERS

Carter's budget puts him in no-win position for 1980 elections

THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION'S 1980 BUDGET IS "LEAN and austere." In the politics of this budget, we are witnessing a classic pattern of a middle-of-the-road Democratic President trying to get out in front on a conservative issue—in this instance, fiscal restraint. If his present course continues, he will wind up a casualty of a conservative movement that he probably inadvertently fueled, and of conservative presidential candidates who are more genuinely and convincingly conservative than himself. Usually, this pattern manifests itself on "national security" issues and anti-communism, as the Johnson presidency illustrates. The novelty of the current version is the administration's rearguard position on two fronts—the traditional "national security" and defense spending craze is one, and the fiscal conservatism is the other.

President Carter appears to be positioning himself in a no-win situation. If he continues on his conservative tack, he alienates his natural constituencies. If he responds to his constituencies, though maintaining a conservative posture, he confirms the suspicions of conservatives that he is a counterfeit conservative. Perhaps the best analogy for the current situation in presidential politics is 1968 with, of course, some differences.

Needless to say, this analysis does not diminish the damage the budget-cutting proposals will do to human needs programs and in further distorting the already lopsided priorities of government. Carter's proposed budget cuts hit lower-income groups far more than upper-income ones. Nor am I suggesting that Carter's response to the current tide of fiscal conservatism is inevitable or impervious to well-directed political pressure. To the contrary, there is abundant evidence that the administration has been wobbly in its domestic policy positions and priorities,

and quite open to pressure for modification of its initial positions.

Picking through the federal budget is sort of like scanning the surface of the moon: both are filled with enormous gaps, deceptive appearances, and hidden terrain. The general contours are by now familiar.

The 1980 budget calls for holding down the overall budget deficit to something less than \$30 billion, and shifting funds from domestic programs to defense. The Pentagon winds up with a 10 percent increase, while, it is estimated, discretionary social programs (other than Social Security, Unemployment Compensation, Medicare/Medicaid, and Supplemental Security Income) are allowed only a 2.1 percent growth in outlays (actually, a cut of 5 percent when the inflation rate is taken into account).

The proposed increases for defense, incidentally, are significant when broken down by category:

All weaponry, outlay	14.9%
Nuclear weaponry, outlay	19.1%
R&D, outlay	13.8%
Combat weapons, vehicles and torpedoes (budget authority)	35.9%

Missiles (budget authority) 93.9%

The proposed cuts in social programs will have the severest impact on the most disadvantaged groups. A sample includes:

- 300,000 jobs cut from public service employment under the CETA program;
- 314,000 summer youth jobs cut;
- Elimination of the labor-intensive local public works program;
- 100,000 public housing and Sec. 8 housing units cut;
- Cuts of \$500 million in child nutrition programs;
- Cuts in disability insurance and other Social Security benefits, amounting to roughly \$600 million.

The White House's defense of its budget cuts, spelled out in a publication entitled, *Minorities and the 1980 Budget: Fact Sheet*, is filled with regrets, self-justifications, and quite a few budgetary sleights-of-hand. There are a few positive developments worth crediting: for example, minority small business enterprise is slated for significantly increased assistance through stepped up targeting of procurement and business loans; the Legal Services Corporation, which assists the poor, is allowed an additional \$22 million; and \$3.5 billion in budget authority is requested for a new national development bank. But the rest of the budget is virtually a disaster area for the disadvantaged.

Furthermore, the budget is not going to reduce the inflation rate. The respected Congressional Budget Office estimates that by the fourth quarter of 1980, the proposed budget cuts will lessen inflation by a mere one-tenth of one percent. What else is there in it but a symbolic sop to the right?

The White House budget defense is embarrassingly slim, when it is not ludicrous. After a discussion of cuts in the CETA program and a lame justification that remaining job slots will be better targeted to persons in need, the document highlights the request for an additional \$215 million for better census data, so that in the future minorities will not be undercounted as they notoriously have been in the past.

The "fact sheet" attempts to make the case that increased defense spending is especially good for minorities, when, in fact, defense spending is highly capital-rather than labor-intensive, recruits disproportionately highly technical workers, and contracts with highly specialized, and unlikely-to-be-minority, firms.

It argues that an actual increase in fund-

ing for the poor will take place, but fails to mention that the increase merely keeps pace with inflation, occurs mostly in non-controllable programs over which the White House has no say and, deceptively, excludes a number of discretionary programs that, if included, would actually show the net decrease in real spending for the poor that is otherwise concealed.

What is the significance of Carter's 1980 budget request? In its own way, it is a throwback to the late '60s, when the juggernaut of the Vietnam war and related expenditures wiped out the so-called war against poverty. Once again, a Democratic administration is becoming distracted by fanciful notions of "national security" (e.g., the multiple concessions to the right to ease passage of SALT II), and of holding the center against the right. In doing so, it is turning away from human needs.

The current rendezvous with conservatism is dangerous to the lives of minorities and low-income people. The President is serving up a recipe of cutbacks and contraction at a time when the jobless rate for black teenagers is about the same as it was at the height of the 1975 recession and 12 percentage points higher than a decade ago. The proportion of black families living in poverty has grown to 28 percent, roughly the same number as a decade ago; and average black income is 57 percent of white income, the same ratio as a decade ago.

The economic trends as they affect the majority of Americans, working and middle class as well as lower class, are not much better, given the fact that their real income has not grown in the past decade, the overall unemployment rate is 2½ percentage points higher than ten years ago, middle-class debt is soaring, and stagflation once more threatens to return with a vengeance.

We are witnessing another attempt to outwit the right. Many casualties will follow in its wake. We can intervene. The administration is highly susceptible to pressure. Some budget cuts can be restored even if basic policy trends can't be reversed. The rest is building up our political strength for a longer-term reversal of this newest opening to the right. ■

Rep. John Conyers (D-MI) is chair of the Crime Subcommittee of the House Judiciary Committee and a leader in the full employment movement.

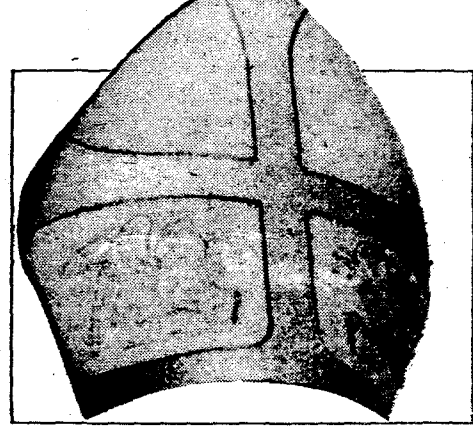
JOE HOLLAND

Orthopraxis challenges orthodoxy in new Latin American Church

THE RECENT VISIT OF POPE John Paul II to Latin America signaled the importance of the new Latin American Church. The pope came to speak to the Third General Conference of the Latin American Bishops gathered in Puebla Mexico. He gave 40 speeches on wide ranging topics. The U.S. press reported his message as a condemnation of the "Theology of Liberation"

and a check on left-leaning political activism in the Latin American Church. More recent private reports from Mexico argue his message was more balanced, offering something to the right and left wings of the Church, now highly polarized in Latin America. Before analyzing his message, it may be helpful to review the historical background.

The Puebla meeting is strategic for the Latin American Roman Catholic Church and therefore for global Christianity. The center of gravity of all Christianity, especially Catholicism, is rapidly shifting to



the Third World. By the year 2000, it is predicted, a full 70 percent of the world's Catholics will be living in Africa, Asia, and Latin America, 48 percent of them in Latin America alone.

The Third World Church takes shape in the midst of great poverty and oppression. Its recent industrializing is shaped by global corporate giants and repressive national security governments with little accountability to the basic human needs of the vast majority. In Brazil, for example, the so-called "economic miracle" which produced extraordinarily high rates

of growth in GNP during the 1960s, looked very different when viewed from the bottom up. The fate of the bottom 40 percent of the population absolutely deteriorated. The infant mortality rate of the industrial Sao Paulo area, which had been steadily declining since 1940, dramatically reversed itself and began a steady increase.

Such human suffering has led major sectors of the Latin American Church to develop a new theology, often called the "Theology of Liberation."

This new theology stresses truth as action, rather than only as doctrine. Reflecting the influence of historical consciousness on modern thought, it speaks of orthopraxis rather than orthodoxy. Those who proclaim the Gospel are to be judged by what they do, not only by what they say. The turn to orthopraxis has meant two bold innovations in theological method: 1) a linking of theology with social science, often with Marxian interpretations of neo-colonialism and class conflict in periphery capitalism; and 2) theologizing from within grass roots movements of peasants and workers.

Indeed, some are arguing that this theology is leading to a new form of the Church—organized as a federation of small grass-roots communities—often called "Basic Christian Communities."

In a context of overall right-wing repression within late periphery capitalism, the new Latin American religious form has led to serious church/state tensions, especially in Brazil, Chile, and Salvador. Some have estimated that over 850 priests, nuns, brothers, and bishops, plus thousands of lay Christians, have been detained, arrested, tortured, exiled, or executed in the last decade in the Latin American Church.

These new tensions grew dramatically

after the last regional bishops' meeting in Medellin, Colombia in 1968. That conference marked the strategic transition from the Latin American Church's old alliance with the landed oligarchy to new bondings with workers, peasants, and the growing urban marginal sector.

The Latin American bishops are now meeting again, a little more than ten years later, to take stock of the new strategy. Their church, however, remains sharply fragmented into three groups: 1) traditionalists, totally opposed to the new thrust; 2) liberals, trying to contain it within anti-Marxist reform movements; and 3) radicals, many of whom see the change as opening on some form of humanistic socialism.

The third group had great influence in the 1968 meeting. Now the traditionalists have regrouped and, with some of the more conservative liberals, are trying to pull in the reins. Sectors of the Vatican, especially Cardinal Baggio, reportedly screened out many left-leaning delegates, advisers, and even press to steer the conference in a conservative direction.

Others have charged Colombian bishop Alfonso Lopez-Trujillo, General Secretary of the Bishops Conference, together with the Belgian Jesuit Roger Vekemans, with financial support from some conservative German bishops, of waging an ecclesiastical war on the new Theology of Liberation. The outcome, however, is anything but clear, and perhaps will remain unclear, even after the bishops conclude their two-week meeting in Puebla. ■

This is the first in a series on the Church and the Pope's Latin American tour.

Joe Holland is an associate of the Center of Concern, a Catholic policy study institute, Washington, D.C.

This interview with Rep. Ron Dellums (D-CA) was conducted by Alan Snitow, news director of station KPFA in Berkeley, Calif. In the interview, Dellums discusses his views on the development of a viable left in American politics, as well as the possibility of his running as a socialist in the Democratic presidential primaries against President Carter next year.

The interview is the first in a series of articles that we plan to publish on building a socialist presence in American politics in 1980. These pieces will present a range of views of leading political and trade union figures on the left. Among them will be advocates of socialist participation in the Democratic Party, of independent socialist politics and of labor party politics. There will also be advocates of concentration on building local political movements and on local office holding, as well as advocates of a challenge on the presidential level. IN THESE TIMES does not endorse any of these positions to the exclusion of others at this time. We do think it is vital for the left to air these views, to consider them seriously and to act upon those that show promise of creating a viable movement for socialism in the U.S.

If there is a movement on the right, there's also been movement toward the left. At the California Federation of Labor convention here in San Francisco, for example, there was disaffection with Jerry Brown. And UAW president Douglas Fraser has been talking of new political initiatives. Do you see an arena for this kind of discussion?

That's not an easy question. Initially, I thought that in Proposition 13's home state we could begin to look at alternative approaches to programs and policies since we now have to deal within the framework of this limitation at the local level where services really reach people. My hope was that rather than a meat-axe approach to their budgets, city councils would begin to generate discussion among the citizenry to find out whether people are prepared to stand on humanistic values and to support creative proposals. Unfortunately, I have not seen that begin to emerge in California. But I would love to see activity at the grass roots level, because the U.S. Congress is totally incapable of addressing the priorities of the nation. It is now a wholly ineffective and inadequate mechanism.

We're going to have to move on many levels: at the local level, unions are beginning to examine an alternative to the Democratic and Republican parties, particularly if they do not pose a significant alternative to the right-wing mania, and certainly if the Democrats are not willing to stand firm and speak to the best interests of workers, the poor, minorities and women, students and senior citizens—who traditionally have been the Democrats' constituents.

But we've got to begin to have voices stand up and be heard who are not willing to cave in to the right—because if we don't emerge as advocates from the left, then tremendous conflict will occur in this country between the haves and the have-nots. This may very well be the most profound moment in the history of this country—certainly in modern times. We must move into the center of the political arena and begin to pose humanistic alternatives that meet the test of economy and efficiency.

I don't have a recipe for how we do it, but it's got to begin at the local level where people begin to demand the opportunity to be heard on community priorities before they start taking a meat-axe to the budget.

On the local level there is no real focus. There are 50 different issues. There are people working in health, for example, and using your health bill. But there has been no unifying effort. The right has unified very effectively, with Jarvis Gann, with the call for tax reduction. Do you see how to create an arena for all the local constituencies?

Perhaps the next municipal elections—because they do focus exclusively on the local level—may be the vehicle to start discussion about what is important in our communities. Local election campaigns can allow people who are willing to talk

THE ROAD TO 1980

Dellums would bring socialism into 1980 election campaign



"I'm humbled and excited by the discussion of my having the credibility to run for President."

about the real implications of Prop. 13 to emerge as candidates and to begin to look at the larger questions—inefficiency, inappropriate priorities, and finally the tremendous tax burden on working people.

I hope that our next elections become the catalyst for the community stopping for a moment and saying, "Wait, where are we going; where are we; what do we perceive as important; how are we going to relate to our fellow human beings in the community, whether they're black, brown, red, yellow, white, workers, poor. These campaigns could begin to move us away from personality contests and power struggles that tend to characterize local elections and put candidates out there who are willing to talk and debate and stimulate discussion.

What about the problem that's posed by Gov. Jerry Brown's reelection last November, given his move to the right? It's likely that Brown will challenge Carter for the 1980 Democratic nomination. Do you think it's possible for an alternative campaign? William Winpisinger recently talked about consideration of running someone on the left and speculation seems to point in your direction.

That question has been raised with me and I've spent many sleepless nights thinking about it. There has been a great deal of discussion around the country about an alternative candidacy that would not simply be a protest but a person running for the presidency of the U.S. with a humanistic set of values and willing to do two things—first, challenge the President to debate critical issues that may very well not come forward if a left candidate is not out there, and second, mobilize a constituency that is there but is not now articulate. I believe that makes sense, given the lineup you've indicated.

That's the only way to stimulate honest debate and to mobilize the constituency out there that includes not only the socialist left, blacks, other Third World people, women, senior citizens, *et cetera*, but also trade unionists—and potentially the farmers who come to Washington con-

cerned about the domination of major corporations and agribusiness in this country. It could include large numbers of people who are beginning to see that the nature of economics of this country excludes large numbers of people who bought the great American dream.

I'm very humbled by the discussion with respect to myself—by people believing that I have the credibility, the intellect and the stamina to run for President. I'm thinking seriously about it, but I have not made a decision. Many things go into consideration. But I support the notion of a left candidate in the 1980 election. Whether it should be me is a question I'm not now prepared to answer. I'm not tap-dancing. I'm simply saying that it's a profound decision. But someone ought to be out there.

Let me add one thing. The constituency is there, and it is the majority of Americans. I don't agree with many politicians and people in the media who think the nation has swung to the right. I don't buy that.

The right is well-organized, well-financed and highly visible and it's zeroed in on two or three specific programs that bring many people to a high emotional level of political activism. But the majority of American people are potentially prepared to move toward a more progressive place. If a candidate is credible, articulate, attractive, knows the issues, and if we have a substantial amount of money—you've got to be able to start with at least five million dollars with the potential of raising anywhere from 20 to 35 million dollars—then a campaign that starts in New Hampshire and goes across 50 states could mobilize an incredible level of consciousness in this country. And mobilize a constituency that will change the level of the debate and the discussion in this country and change the direction of American politics.

I'm excited and enthusiastic about it. Anything that I can do to facilitate that I'm willing to do. I feel under extreme pressure to decide about myself—and I don't know if I should run for president in 1980. But some progressive person

needs to emerge in 1980.

One other further point: When you look at America, and I think it's implicit and explicit in people's response to Prop. 13, fear is an incredible dynamic in our society. Fear permeates virtually all aspects of our lives, including the electoral process. That fear has given rise to politicians who have internalized the fear or who reflect the fear or who acquiesce in the fear. But how can politicians who are products of fear, who are fearful themselves, lead a nation when we desperately need strong leadership in a humane and sensitive direction. The cowardly, the expedient, the fearful will not lead America at this critical moment. If a progressive candidate emerged who was courageous enough to say there are creative alternatives, the majority of American people who are not being heard from now would rally to that kind of integrity and courage. I think they're tired of lying, fearful, expedient politicians. I have faith in people's ability to rally to a clean and honest alternative, particularly if we have the resources to force a public debate. I'm overwhelmingly enthusiastic for it.

One of the concerns that I've had is whether or not you could run a campaign associated with a socialist organization. Tom Hayden didn't do that and has moved away from talking about socialism. But it seems an obstacle that may be more fictitious than real.

I think the notion of economic democracy embraces the principle we're talking about. People understand that if you have no economic power, you can't have political power, and if the power over investment is in the hands of a very few people, then the people can't have political power.

If social decisions are weighted heavily in the favor of major corporate interests in our society, then how can those decisions be just, as regards the majority of people?

We need to begin to look at such questions. We need to begin to look at whether or not some of the functions that have traditionally been in the private sector should still be there, particularly those that have a great impact on the public. Health, for example. This year we're going to spend \$200 billion on health. It's a major industry, dominated by the private sector. It is perceived as a private service. Can we continue to view the delivery of health service as private? Can we continue to sell health services in the marketplace, the way we sell a Mercedes-Benz or fur coats or diamond rings? I believe not. But the American people at least need to discuss those things.

Also, I think we need to discuss within the framework of the notion of economic democracy whether or not a job, an education, health, etc., ought to be rights. The very basic things in life ought to be rights. We have traditionally gotten caught up in perceiving the word "socialism" as negative. Socialism is a broad, generic term. We need to talk about where we want to take the society and what our values are. And within the framework of economic democracy, we can explore these questions.

Should the railroads be nationalized as a service to the American people? Should health service—should there be health services in America rather than a private approach to health? These are issues that the people need to look at. Should we begin to look at the concept of worker-owned corporations? We have some examples in the U.S. where workers through their pension plans have purchased corporations and made them run, made millions of dollars of profits and the employees were involved in decision-making and direction.

These are exciting ideas that the American people should start looking at within the framework of all this madness from the right and all these limitations. Now is the time and the opportunity to begin to talk about these issues. If there's going to be any integrity at all to the debate, then we've got to be willing to say that all sectors of our political arena need to be heard and from the left, from the progressive forces in our nation, there are ideas that have not emerged because of the negative atmosphere that has dominated the political arena.

—Transcribed by Helen Kingsbury

PERSPECTIVES

Editor's Note: In the belief that the new era of world politics calls for fresh thinking by American socialists, we have invited comment on our editorial, "Socialists and the Indo-China War," Jan 17. Here we print the responses of John Rossen and Manning Marable. (See also the letter from Morris Schappes, editor of *Jewish Currents*, on page 15.)

Vietnam justified in its Kampuchea intervention

By Manning Marable

DURING THE LATE '60S WHEN I WAS AN UNDERGRADUATE student at a small Quaker college, almost everyone I knew opposed the American war in Vietnam. Despite my own political immaturity, I recognized a distinct difference within the anti-war ranks. Some of us opposed the war because it was immoral, or because acts of violence were repugnant. We believed that the Vietnamese people should be allowed to build their own political and economic order without interference. Others of us defended the socialist revolution in Vietnam, and called for the defeat of U.S. troops on that basis.

I had learned enough from the example of Malcolm X to understand that capitalism could not produce freedom for non-white people, whether they were blacks or Vietnamese peasants. Liberation "by any means necessary" meant the use of force and violence to insure the success of the Movement for freedom. My opposition to the war was based upon the idea that violence was justified whenever the liberation of oppressed people was threatened in any way.

Several years ago, during the "Second War for Independence" in Angola, I defended the position of the MPLA. The

MPLA was not perfect, but it seemed the most likely of all social/political formations to build African socialism and to support further liberation struggles in Namibia and South Africa itself. Cuba's decision to send troops seemed not only appropriate, but within the context of international socialism, a correct decision. Liberation "by any means necessary" meant the military intervention of Cuba to counteract the reactionary intervention of the U.S., China and South Africa inside Angola.

The issues raised in these earlier debates are, once again, present in the Vietnam-Kampuchea conflict. The decision by the Vietnamese government to aid the

forces of opposition to the brutal Pol Pot government has sparked a debate within the meager ranks of socialists in America. The *Guardian*, for example, has suggested that we "reserve judgment" on the Vietnamese-backed invasion of Kampuchea. **IN THESE TIMES** suggests that "we should exert whatever influence we may have toward stopping the war, toward Vietnamese withdrawal from Kampuchea, and toward a more democratic socialism in Indochina."

ITT fails to take into account the broader international issues at stake in the Vietnam-Kampuchea conflict. Like the pacifists who opposed the Vietnam War on moral grounds, the editors illustrate a failure to commit themselves to the building of socialism and the liberation of the oppressed "by any means necessary." As in Angola, the priority of building socialism and a more humane society should take precedence over the question of "foreign intervention."

The decision by Vietnam to invade Kampuchea came at a critical historic juncture, precipitated by events not often dictated by the political decisions of either party. Of primary importance, within the context of regional politics, was the clientage relationship between the Deng government of Peking and the Pol Pot government. Since 1976, China has moved sharply toward the U.S. and the West for the credit, technological and material assistance it needs for its "modernization program."

Deng's domestic economic agenda is a return, in some respects, to the large-scale industrial programs of the 1950-56 and 1961-65 periods, spearheaded by Liu Shao Ch'i and Deng. The basic difference, however, is that the Chinese state bureaucracy appears ready to resurrect capitalist economic relations, along with material incentives and "bottom line" thinking. As China descends further down "the capitalist road" its relations with Vietnam inevitably become more tense.

Tactically, the Chinese acquired the allegiance of the Pol Pot regime as a counterweight against the socialist government of Vietnam. China encouraged Kampuchea's raids into Vietnam, and endorsed Pol Pot's draconian version of "barracks socialism." The deportation of the Chinese petty bourgeoisie from Vietnam only contributed to a steadily worsening relationship between China and Vietnam.

Secondly, the decision of the U.S. not to honor its commitment to aid in the reconstruction of war-torn Indochina was a major contributing factor in the recent conflict. Without U.S. assistance, the Vietnamese found it impossible to continue their political balancing act between China and the Soviet Union. Vietnam has been faced with a severe grain shortage, and the necessity for economic assistance forced that country to seek support from the Soviet Union. In June, 1978, Vietnam joined Comecon, the Soviet economic community, and began to receive much-needed assistance.

Lastly, and most importantly, was the development of a socialist opposition inside Kampuchea against Pol Pot. The leaders of the Kampuchean National United Front for National Salvation are for the most part veterans of the struggle against the U.S.-backed military dictatorship, 1970-1975. As military and political leaders of the former Khmer Rouge, their aspirations for independence and socialism paralleled those of the Vietnamese Communists. When the National Front required support and the weapons essential in overthrowing Pol Pot, the Vietnamese agreed to help—much to their credit.

There is much we do not and cannot know about in this unfortunate conflict, but a few critical elements are clear. Pol Pot's regime had nothing in common with socialism or human dignity as we understand it. The Vietnamese people are building a society upon a system of social values and human ethics that is recognizable and worthy of international support from the democratic socialist community. In theory, violence should always be viewed as a final alternative; in practice, the Vietnamese had no alternative other than to support the National Front and destroy Pol Pot's ghastly state.

Malcolm X was always clear that the struggle for human liberation could involve the use of force and violence at some stage. It should also be clear that the defense of socialism will involve measures which may appear regrettable, but ultimately necessary.

Manning Marable, professor of history at the University of San Francisco and fellow of the Institute of the Black World, Atlanta, is a regular columnist for *IN THESE TIMES*.

Vietnam violating unalienable right of self-determination

By John Rossen

YOUR EDITORIAL (JAN. 17) CORRECTLY CONCLUDES THAT "Vietnam is without justification in its invasion of Kampuchea" but it overlooks what seems to me to be the essence of the question. At issue is not "socialist conflict" or whether either regime was or was not truly socialist (by whatever definition). Nor whether contradictions between socialist states are inevitable. ¶The real issue is the unalienable democratic right of self-determination of nations. This right, violated in Kampuchea, was precisely the point made in the UN by

the non-socialist, anti-Pol Pot Prince Sihanouk. It generated substantial sympathy among many third world nations.

The right of self-determination of nations was not a principle invented by socialists. Three quarters of a century before the Communist Manifesto it was proclaimed a sacred human and democratic right by Thomas Paine and his fellow revolutionaries. But socialist theoreticians have been unanimous in pointing out that while in its early stages capitalism was the "midwife" of nations and nationhood and a strong proponent and defender of the right of self-determination, in the "moribund" stage of capitalism, socialists pick up that democratic standard and defend it against imperialism, the destroyer of nations and nationhood and the violator of the right of self-determination of peoples.

The early, somewhat simplistic definition of imperialism as being more or less that stage of capitalism characterized by "export of finance capital" (what about a developed socialist country that exports finance capital?) has generally given way in socialist and progressive circles to a more apt and more precise definition for our times: Imperialism is the interference in, or the denial of the rights of political, social, cultural or economic self-determination of a people.

ITT's editorial properly poses the need for socialists to "exert fresh thinking on some fundamental questions." And the questions posed are certainly not easy to answer. But there is a clear and unequivocal answer to two of them, dealing with the criteria for relations between socialist states, and between socialist and capitalist states. The answer for both is simply

the solid and unqualified observance of the right of self-determination, and of non-interference in others' internal affairs.

Interestingly enough, the Soviet Union, which was guilty of the flagrant violation of this right in Hungary and Czechoslovakia, actually set a socialist norm for respect for this right in relation to a capitalist country when, in 1939, after the Red Army had the Finnish state at its mercy and could easily have found justification for annexing Finland to the Karelian Soviet Republic, it arranged a treaty with the conservative government guaranteeing the right of self-determination and security to Finland. That treaty has been scrupulously observed by both sides since.

The Peoples Republic of China, concerned for nearly 30 years about the possible threat of Taiwan as a base for an attack on its mainland, joined with Richard Nixon (in the Shanghai Communiqué of 1972) and with the Chiang Kai-shek gang, in insisting that Taiwan was "an integral part of China." It would have been wiser and more in keeping with socialist behavior to have offered independence and a mutual defense pact to an independent, democratic Taiwanese nation freed from the shackles of the Chiang dictatorship.

Had China done this, the Chiang clique would not have had such an easy time on the island. The people of Taiwan have all the attributes of a nation, and the Chinese argument that Taiwan was settled by Chinese 300 years ago has as little validity as the fact that America was colonized by the British.

The essence of the "problem" of Taiwan is the matter of the national liberation of the Taiwanese people. A sort of half-hearted and grudging recognition of this by Peking has come in the form of a recent offer of some sort of "autonomy" for Taiwan. But to whom was this offer made? To the Chiang dictatorship, and not to the oppressed Taiwan nation.

The distortions and perversions of socialist norms by the two socialist "superpowers" (and their satellite powers) are not due to socialist conflict in a world where socialism is "coming of age." They are due to the circumstance that their respective revolutions did not take place in highly developed capitalist countries.

For nearly a century and a half socialists have been preaching that the cause of war is capitalism. *ITT*'s editorial warns that socialists can no longer assume that socialism automatically brings peace. What a bleak prospect for the future of humanity!

For democratic socialists, the lesson should be clear that just as there can be no true socialism internally without democracy, so can there be no socialist norm for relations with capitalist or socialist states that does not include the great international democratic principle of meticulous respect for the right of self-determination of peoples.

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LIFE IN THE U.S.

McGraw Hill fights AmEx to a draw

By Walter Powell

ON TUESDAY, JAN. 9, THE American Express Company launched the largest attempted acquisition ever of a publishing company—and one of the largest takeover attempts in American business history—with a takeover bid of McGraw Hill, one of the nation's largest publishing companies.

While McGraw Hill is one of the giants of the comparatively small publishing industry (with total assets in 1977 of approximately \$550 million and annual sales of \$659 million), it was considered no match for the huge American Express Company, whose annual sales in 1977 topped \$3.4 billion and assets exceeded \$12.3 billion. So McGraw Hill's successful resistance has surprised many.

Its chairman and chief executive, Harold J. McGraw Jr. (grandson of company founder, James H. McGraw), has waged McGraw Hill's fight on three fronts. He has raised serious questions about the editorial independence and integrity of McGraw publications under American Express control. He has charged American Express with "illegal, improper, unsolicited, and surprising" action. McGraw has also solicited assistance from anti-merger proponents and regulators in Washington as well as in the publishing industry.

American Express launched its takeover bid anticipating that McGraw Hill would be receptive to its overtures, and it was embarrassed by the vehemence of McGraw Hill's struggle. American Express has in recent years faced increasing competition in the credit card field and the international banking business. American Express had hoped this acquisition would help repair a tarnished image that comes from three widely publicized and unsuccessful courtships of Philadelphia Life Insurance, Walt Disney Productions, and the Book-of-the-Month Club.

McGraw Hill's financial status, on the other hand, has improved considerably in the past few years after a period of hard times in the late '60s and early '70s. McGraw Hill's earnings fell in the late '60s largely as a consequence of declines in magazine advertising and textbook sales. The company was further embarrassed by the Clifford Irving-Howard Hughes fiasco. Its stock has risen 318 percent since January 1975, however, and it is now a well-diversified company with one of the highest returns on equity in the publishing industry.

It is one of the country's largest textbook publishers, publishing 29 magazines (including *Business Week*), and 28 newsletters. The company also owns four television stations as well as Standard and Poor, the credit rating and financial information service.

Misconduct charges.

The hostility between the two companies rose precipitously on Jan. 17 when McGraw Hill took out a two-page ad in the *Wall Street Journal*, *New York Times* and *Washington Post* in which it reprinted the unanimous rejection by its board of directors of the American Express offer. It would be improper, the advertisement stated, to entrust *Business Week* and Standard and Poor's credit rating service "to a company that pays virtually no federal income taxes on its hundreds of millions of dollars of annual income, operates in a manner that raises serious questions under the banking and securities laws, and pays no interest on the billions of dollars it derives from the issuance of travelers checks to the public."

Although American Express repeatedly promised to maintain editorial independence for McGraw publications, this offered little solace. Lewis Young, editor-



Karl Malden attempts to stop Harold McGraw Jr. from assaulting American Express chairman James D. Robinson III.

in-chief of *Business Week*, feared American Express might taboo certain subjects and could possibly use *Business Week* editorial columns "to sell its other products and services or to curry favor with government officials to aid its international business."

the role of the banks in this acquisition and in the recent increase in mergers. The Morgan Guaranty Trust held 731,320 shares of McGraw Hill in its trust and investment division at year-end 1977. The *New York Times* reported that one source said Morgan Guaranty may now hold as

of mergers is considerably less than in the late '60s—when as many as 6000 companies a year were acquired—today's acquisitions increasingly involve large companies. The total number of mergers declined in 1978 from 1977, but there were 80 mergers valued at more than \$100 million in 1977. According to W.T. Grimm, a Chicago-based firm that studies merger activity, the dollar amount of 1978 mergers exceeded \$34 billion.

This trend to larger acquisitions is fueled by the current high rate of inflation and its depressing effect on the stock market. The lower a firm's price, the cheaper it is to acquire. At the same time, inflation makes it much more expensive to start a business. The result is that it is cheaper to buy a company than to build one.

The federal government's efforts to oppose business combinations have been limited and the intervention process extraordinarily slow. Existing antitrust legislation provides little control over conglomerate mergers, the characteristic style of most recent acquisitions. Government usually intervenes only when significant overlaps in two companies' line of business exists.

New legislation is needed, since recent studies point to increasing concentration of economic power in the hands of a few large corporations. A study in 1978 by the Conference Board, a business research group, demonstrates a sharp trend from 1947 to 1972, a trend that has surely become more pronounced in recent years. In 1947, the 200 largest U.S. manufacturing firms controlled 46 percent of total corporate assets. By 1972, the percentage had grown to 61 percent of all assets.

With little government help forthcoming, the only option open to companies facing hostile takeovers appears to be the "scorched earth" approach recently pursued by McGraw Hill.

Walter Powell is an assistant professor of sociology at the State University of New York at Stony Brook. For the past three years he has been project director of a federally-funded study, "Publishers as Gatekeepers of Ideas." He has recently completed a manuscript on the decision-making process in scholarly publishing. He is currently writing a book, with Lewis Coser and Charles Kadushin, on book publishing in America.

Would American Express use *Business Week* editorials to sell products or curry favor?

McGraw Hill book editors were distressed by reports that American Express hoped to use its 8.6 million credit card subscribers list to sell McGraw Hill books, noting that American Express had some experience selling "coffee table-type books." McGraw Hill authors have yet to publicly oppose the move by American Express.

After publishing its protest ad, McGraw Hill authorized a lawsuit against American Express and its president, Roger H. Morley, for a "conspiratorial breach of his fiduciary duty to McGraw Hill's stockholders." McGraw charged that Morley, as a member of the McGraw Hill board of directors from Jan. 26, 1977, to Jan. 11, 1979, and as a member also of the financial policy and audit committees, had access to confidential information. He remained on the board for several months while American Express was pursuing its "clandestine plan" to acquire the company. A rash of suits and countersuits between the two companies are now in the courts. American Express, apparently in hopes of a stockholder revolt or a proxy fight, has stated its offer will remain open until March 1.

McGraw Hill's counter-offensive chided American Express' lack of integrity in having obtained the financing for the takeover from Morgan Guaranty Trust Company, McGraw Hill's principal bank for more than 50 years. American Express obtained a \$700 million loan to finance its bid from a group of six banks, including the Morgan Guaranty Trust, Chase Manhattan and Continental Illinois Bank and Trust Co.

Observers have raised questions about

many as 1.8 million shares of McGraw Hill. Chase Manhattan holds a reported 273,200 shares of McGraw Hill and Continental Illinois another 244,470 shares.

Monopoly of ideas?

The attempted takeover comes less than a month after a Federal Trade Commission symposium on concentration in the various communications media: book and newspaper publishing, radio and television. The Authors Guild has been vociferous in its complaints that recent mergers in the publishing industry have reduced the number of independent voices, contributed to excessive influence for a few large houses, and have made it increasingly difficult for new authors to get a serious hearing.

Many fear that increasing control of publishing by powerful communications conglomerates will lead to a trivialization of literature. Some contend that the various combinations of hardcover and softcover publishers with newspaper chains, magazines, movies, broadcasting, and book clubs are efforts to create a vertical monopoly of ideas.

This past spring, a sizable share of Houghton Mifflin stock was taken over by Western Pacific. The Authors Guild led a campaign by Houghton Mifflin's distinguished list of writers who threatened to leave the Boston publishing house if the company lost its independence. Western Pacific eventually sold its shares of Houghton Mifflin back to the company, making a tidy profit in the process.

The McGraw Hill/American Express battle typifies the current merger wave in many respects. Though the annual total

ANOTHER VIETNAM?

Some say it will never happen again.

Why, then, has the U.S. allowed illegal arms shipments to South Africa and Rhodesia?

Why is the U.S. supporting "elections" in Rhodesia and Namibia which exclude the independence movements?

Why is the U.S. blocking United Nations economic sanctions against South Africa?

In Vietnam each intervention took Americans deeper into war. Now the U.S. is moving steadily towards intervention in Africa.

What does the record show so far?

ANGOLA: The U.S. government has already intervened militarily in Angola. John Stockwell, former chief of the CIA Angola Task Force, has revealed that the U.S., together with South Africa, started a secret war in Angola in 1975. The aim was to prevent the MPLA, the present ruling party, from forming a government of the majority, and to install instead a regime that would "protect Western strategic and economic interests" in the region. To justify American intervention, the CIA told Congress the covert war was necessary to prevent a takeover by the Soviet Union and Cuba. The CIA, Stockwell points out, has falsely accused both nations of initiating intervention.

NAMIBIA: The Namibian people have been fighting for their independence for more than twelve years. Although the South African occupation of Namibia is illegal, Pretoria regards the country as a "buffer zone" for the protection of apartheid and refuses to leave. The U.N. has been trying to force South Africa out and has called for free elections in Namibia. The Western powers, believing that a colonized Namibia will preserve "stability" in southern Africa, have sought to prevent U.N. action. They have allowed South Africa to reject the U.N. election plan and to install a puppet "Constituent Assembly." The South West Africa People's Organization, recognized by African countries

and the U.N. as the true representative of the Namibian people, is being excluded from power. With 50,000 South African troops in the country enforcing apartheid and using Namibia as a base for operations against Angola, the danger of a bloodier, wider war grows.

RHODESIA: The Smith regime has not accepted majority rule. It is digging in to defend white supremacy. War now rages throughout the country. Hundreds of thousands of Zimbabweans are imprisoned in "protected villages." Bombing has forced the rural population in many areas to flee to the cities. Smith's war effort has been helped by Western countries. The Rhodesian air force now uses Bell helicopters and other U.S. aircraft. Thousands of mercenaries from the U.S., Great Britain and other Western countries fight in Smith's army. Smith's trip to the U.S., authorized by the State Department, was seen as a great political victory. On his return Smith declared that it amounted to a de facto recognition of his administration. The Carter government, meanwhile, does nothing to stop the flow of arms, oil and mercenaries to Smith. It is clearly moving towards acceptance of Smith and his fraudulent "internal settlement."

SOUTH AFRICA: The Carter administration, despite its proclaimed

support for human rights and majority rule, has consistently sought to protect South Africa from international action against apartheid. The U.S. has done nothing to stop American loans and investment which strengthen apartheid. It allows a continuing clandestine trade in arms with South Africa. It is also preventing the United Nations from imposing oil sanctions against Pretoria. In short, for "strategic and economic" reasons, it continues to act as if apartheid can last forever, ignoring the repressive and exploitative character of that system and the misery and suffering which the vast majority must bear.

ZAIRE: France and Belgium used the Shaba rebellion last spring as an excuse to intervene militarily in Zaire. At that time, the Carter administration helped to transport troops and equipment and sent 325 U.S. military advisors to Africa to support Franco-Belgian operations. The 82nd Airborne Division was alerted for possible intervention against a population driven to rebellion by the Mobutu dictatorship. Since then, the U.S. has continued to prop up that corrupt and tottering regime with further aid. Evidence mounts that the NATO powers intend to use their new base in Zaire to assist South Africa and Rhodesia in suppressing the liberation struggles in southern Africa.

We should not have supported colonialism in Vietnam. We should not support the suppression of human rights, white supremacy, apartheid or any other form of colonialism in Africa.

Intervention in Africa would divide our country once again. Another war will not only add to our problems abroad but also to those at home—overwhelming problems such as inflation, unemployment, deteriorating race relations and decaying cities.

We must learn to ignore the "experts" who gave us Vietnam—the same generals, politicians and businessmen who under the guise of preserving freedom were advancing their own narrow interests.

Intervention in Vietnam led to the deaths of 55,000 Americans and more than a million Indochinese. We must start to mobilize against a series of interventions which can only lead to another disaster.

What can we do? We can begin by telling President Carter and Congress where we stand.

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ART & ENTERTAINMENT

TELEVISION

Beauty parlor of humiliation promises sadism without guilt

By Al Auster

Recently, television has developed a mean streak and all around the dial there are shows being called the "Theater of Humiliation." The De Sade-Artist of the new video of cruelty is Chuck Barris.

Barris began his TV career as a teleprompter salesman, then moved on to become West Coast head of ABC daytime television (managing the rules of CBS chairman William A. Paley didn't hurt), and along the way wrote an autobiographical novel, *You and Me, Baba*, and a million-dollar hit song, "Palisades Park."

After quitting his ABC job, Barris put together *The Dating Game* and followed its success with *The Newly-Wed Game*. Basically, the formats of these shows relied on the double-entendre, with couples replying to questions like "Would you compare your husband/wife in the morning to a marshmallow, Butterfinger or cherry tart?" While this might not have been any more earth-shaking than the panelists of *What's My Line?* trying to figure out the occupation of the captain of the MIT tiddleywinks team, it did mark a dramatic shift in the course of the game show from the merely smart-assed to the voyeuristic.

Barris made a bundle of money from these shows, and recently a year-end article in the *New York Times* financial pages listed his production company as one of the ten best over-the-counter stocks of the year. As a matter of fact, Barris Productions is now worth almost ten times as much as it was in 1976.

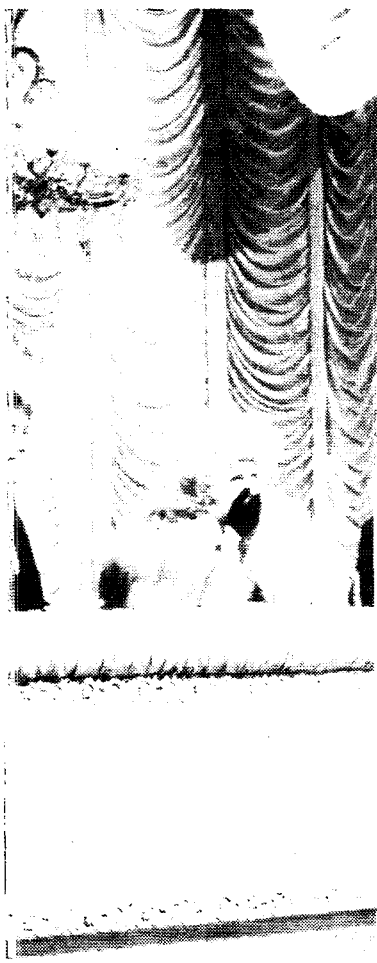
The gold mine is Barris' *Gong Show*. Begun in 1976 and with an estimated daily audience of over 40 million, it is a spoof of all the old amateur hours on radio and TV from *Major Bowes* to *Arthur Godfrey's Talent Scouts*. However, these shows were practically comatose and performances compared to what goes on on the *Gong Show*.

Eventually one of the guest celebrity panelists can stand no more and rings a J. Arthur Rank gong, which immediately calls for a cessation of absurdities. All the while Barris, the show's host and King Gong, leads the studio audience in rhythmic applause, lending encouragement to the performers, or dropping zingers like, "These four youngsters will soon be hosting a telethon to combat puberty."

American beauty.

Barris has succeeded in tapping a strong vein of exhibitionism in the American psyche. However, Barris hasn't stopped with *The Gong Show* and his latest creation is the *\$1.98 Beauty Show*. Obviously an attempt to send up beauty contests in the same way *The Gong Show* parodies talent contests, the show is hosted by former stand-up comic Rip Taylor.

Taylor looks a bit like Captain Kangaroo and his comedy makes



Such contempt and cruelty go hand in hand with horrific violence.

Soupy Sales seem like Noel Coward. After Taylor introduces each contestant with a sexist leer ("Maxine's vision of happiness," he says of one overweight contestant, "is to see her knees"), then the 300-pound secretaries, 70-year-old grandmothers, and some attractive women go on to sing, dance or do whatever they do. Finally there is a bathing suit contest and the eventual winner walks down the "Plank of Pulchritude" for the princely sum of (you guessed it) \$1.98.

It barely needs saying how contemptuous of women and of its audience this is, but this looks mild as the competition escalates between Barris and some of his imitators and former collaborators. For instance, Chris Bearde, who originated the idea for *The Gong Show* and was Barris' partner in it until eased out, has pro-

duced *The Cheap Show*. Bearde hired comic Dick Martin of the Rowan and Martin *Laugh-In* team to host the show. Martin's task on the show is to treat it as if it didn't really exist, and to make smart-alecky remarks to his co-hostess Janelle Price (Wanda), who sounds like a short circuited version of Hal the computer.

On *The Cheap Show*, if guests answer questions correctly they are awarded prizes like a \$4.50 wash tub by Polly the 70-year-old prize lady. If they don't, then their loved ones, who are waiting in the "punishment pit," are pelted with eggs, chicken feathers, and paint. Bearde's latest show idea is the *Sex and Violence Family Hour*. It all begins to sound like *Network* outtakes.

The game show has moved away from its popcorn-of-the-mind approach to something more like "bread and circuses." The contempt and de-humanization heaped on people in these shows may go hand in hand with the decline of the more blatant and horrific kinds of violence on prime-time TV. Now at 7:30 p.m. the audience can get a vicarious catharsis, knowing they would never submit to such humiliation; and they can have a bit of sadism without guilt, since the panelists do the gonging and the punishing.

Some left critics have seen these shows as de-mystifications of the game show. They seem to have forgotten that there have always been parodies of game shows on radio and TV. For instance, *It Pays to Be Ignorant* took off on the "Quiz Kids," but this kind of show never produced anything more dangerous than insult humor, or a zany poem like panelist Harry McNaughton's famous, "I eat my peas with honey/I've done it all my life; it makes the peas taste funny/but keeps them on my knife."

But the new parodies of game shows and beauty contests seem ultimately to be out for blood. Perhaps proof of this is Barris' second novel, *The Game-Show Man*, reported to be about the final kind of game—where someone loses their life. If that's the case, then these shows may be taking us down the road to video snuff.

Al Auster is a contributing editor of *Cineaste*.

CULTURE SHOCK

BUT WILL IT SELL?

To counter the portrayal of Turks as brutal torturers in the film hit *Midnight Express*, the Turks are making a film presenting their view of Turkish justice, called *Midday Express*.

AQUARIAN AGE: IN MEMORIAM

Alice's Restaurant in

Lenox, Mass., is closed and for sale.

TEST PATTERN TV

State-controlled Argentine TV avoids violence, sex, family quarrels, irreverent jokes, rebellious behavior, or anything that may help terrorism or offend morality. Programmers' main problem: the audience continues to be low.

SOME THINGS ARE STILL SACRED

The U.S. Supreme Court has let stand a lower court ruling for Walt Disney productions against cartoonist Dan O'Neill and Bobby London and their publishers, for referring to Mickey Mouse, Pluto and other Disney characters in "adult" comics.

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BOOKS

Ladies' Man shows urban loneliness of working class hero

By Leonard Quart

In his first two novels, *The Wanderers* and *Bloodbrothers*, Richard Price successfully evoked the mores and rituals of a teenage gang cum social club in the early '60s; and told the saga of a hysterical, self-destructive family, the De Coco's, in the '70s. Price's novels transposed the world of James T. Farrell's *Studs Lonigan* into contemporary urban life. The institutions that once shaped and oppressed Studs (e.g., church, neighborhood and family) still survived, but they were either slowly dying or already destroyed.

Richard Price is no ironically detached literary observer of New York's white, ethnic lower middle class. He grew up in that world, in the northeast Bronx of the '60s, and intimately knows the anxiety, anger, claustrophobia and twisted sense of camaraderie that circumscribed that world and made it so volatile.

His protagonists have little that is meaningful left to hold on to, except absurd platitudes about manhood and the anguish and resentment of the solitary psyche. Price has a near-perfect ear, and both the dialogue and descriptive prose of his books are filled with the sort of nuance, energy and "riffing" (a virtuoso verbal performance) that can take flight in to pure Bronx poetry.

Price's first two books, though located in the real and surreal streets of the Bronx, were less interested in social surfaces and structures than in the fear and pathos that lie underneath macho posturing, and in the viciousness and victimization that can permeate family life and love. In

his latest book, *Ladies' Man* (Houghton, Mifflin, \$8.95), Price continues to provide vivid descriptions of the cityscape: a West End Avenue looking like a "long row of giant cash registers" and a Times Square that feels like a "nighttime Mardi Gras in a Caribbean city." New York is not, however, the book's prime focus. The streets and scenes are used as extended metaphors for the emotional state of Price's protagonist, edgy, raging Kenny Becker.

Kenny is one of Price's Bronx "boys," a door-to-door salesman who lives in a studio apartment on Manhattan's Upper West Side. The novel describes seven days in Kenny's life—a week in which his girl friend has left him and he's unraveling in his isolation. In his mind, salvation comes through sex, and all through the week he frantically runs from one sexual scene to another. He moves from singles bars to gay bars to a Times Square massage parlor that looks like "the waiting room of a ghetto dentist." Kenny also resurrects old friendships, grasping for some form of human connection, and realizing by the end of the week he must change his life or die.

Price's eye and ear are powerfully charged instruments, and they create a rhythm and intensity that grabs a reader and does not let go. Without being patronizing, Price can enter Kenny's psyche and capture both his hunger for and fear of intimacy, and his adolescent sexual preening: "I was good, big, and the best.... I knew how to move, how to groove and I was a handsome bastard, too." Kenny's relationships with both men and women are self absorbed, self-hating and infantile, and despite being 30



Richard Price

years old he has never psychologically left the block.

Price's portrait of Kenny is savagely perceptive, and he is able to use Kenny's feverish night stalking to bring to life a variety of the urban wounded. He is especially good at capturing the essence of a S&M gay bar: "Under a lot of motorcycle hats were a lot of kick-me faces, baby faces, scared faces, wrinkled faces.... It was as if the Junior Chamber of Commerce had dropped acid and threw a Walter Mitty party."

Price's strengths as a writer can

at times become his weakness. He, like Kenny, riffs excessively, straining for effect with too many one-liners and pop culture allusions (from Leo Gorcey to the Three Stooges). And though Price grants Kenny's despair a complex life, Kenny's continuous repetition of psychological and philosophical home truths like "this world was a royal screw" and "I was a man without a country," often feel foolish and absurd. Price also, like many contemporary American writers, piles on the grotesquerie (e.g., Kenny tries to

go to bed with a woman whose Mongoloid son hovers about) for effect rather than for illumination. It may be that for Price words come too easy. He improvises too much, sacrificing a fully developed vision of self and society for virtuoso bits.

Nevertheless, Price has an original and disturbing voice, one that emphasizes with the half-formed, self-destructive urban psyche. He is a writer with large mimetic, black comic and imaginative gifts, who has the potential to become a great novelist. ■

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MUSIC

New feminist music expands audience



Women celebrated at last year's Michigan Women's Music Festival.

Toni Armstrong

By Myrna Greenfield

This is the first in a series on women's music. Upcoming articles will look at the politics of the women's recording industry and examine the difficulties of distributing and promoting women's music.

"Women's music" has never been advertised on TV, had an AM hit, or been promoted with so much as a poster in a record store. The industry's top-selling album, Chris Williamson's *The Changer and the Changed* has sold only some 60,000 copies, but it is still going strong four years after it was first released in 1975. Most women's albums are sold through word-of-mouth publicity and ads and reviews in women's publications, although they are also available in some mainstream record stores in special "women's music" sections.

If there is a market for music with a feminist message, the women's music companies will have to step outside the women's movement and push for more widespread recognition and sales. Until recently, women's music has had a small but dedicated following, made up primarily of lesbian feminists. The lesbian-separatist content of much women's music, combined with frequently "heavy" subject matter—every women's album had its obligatory number about *The-zine*—and the limited musical range of many performers, discouraged many potential listeners.

With the exception of a few "for lesbians only" albums not available through mainstream record stores, however, the women's music industry is now attempting to appeal to a broader audience. The lesbian content has not been compromised, but as more and more albums are released featuring instrumental music, more listeners are able and willing to judge the music for its own musical merits.

1978 was a banner year for women's music. Over a dozen albums were released, many featuring ambitious and exciting instrumental work. Women's music can no longer be typed by the image of a solitary songwriter/singer/"star" figure performing "politically correct" original material on piano or her \$29.99 Special Sears Silvertone guitar. The range of musical styles recorded

Women's music can't be typed any more by the image of a solitary female figure performing "politically correct" original material on piano or on her \$29.99 Special Sears Silvertone guitar.

Last year—including three classical albums and numerous jazz, rock, pop, folk, gospel, soul, R&B and two spoken word lps—should appeal to more listeners. In addition, several artists—Meg Christian, Cris Williamson, Kay Gardner and Holly Near—released their second or more albums last year. They have learned

from their experience and shared their skills; artists and engineers from one women's label frequently lend a hand in production on another company's product.

The production quality of most women's albums has improved, particularly on the lps put out by the three largest women's recording companies—Olivia Records, Redwood Records, and Urana Records (Wise Women Enterprises). In fact, the Bay Area Music Awards recently voted Linda Tillery's debut album on Olivia Records the best independently produced album of the year.

One of the instrumental styles of music now achieving recognition in women's music is classical/improvisational. Formation of the New England Women's Symphony and of women's choruses in a number of cities indicates growing interest in feminist music by classical music enthusiasts, and vice versa. 1978 saw the release of *The Return of the Great Mother*, composer Roberta Kosse and lyricist Jenny Kalmquist's four-movement work for women's chorus and chamber orchestra, on the Ars Pro Femina label (distributed by Wise Woman Enterprises).

Another significant classical release, on the Wise Woman label, Urana Records, was Kay Gardner's long-awaited second lp, *Emerging*. Gardner's work is highly accessible; her musically complex compositions flow and sparkle seemingly effortlessly.

Gardner's innovative use of free form composition and improvisation make her a pioneer, not only in women's music, but in classical music as a whole. She ranges from a Celtic, meditative feel to meditative music to more standard classical styles. Her musicians—particularly Janice D'Amico on lute and guitar, and Althea Waites on piano—show remarkable understanding of Gardner's goals.

Distinctive.

Another album featuring fine composition—and the most energetic and exciting ensemble playing to appear on a women's music album yet—is Baba Yaga's *On the Edge*, recorded on Bloodleaf Records and distributed by Olivia. This West Coast women's jazz band applies black and Latin musical traditions to a distinctive blend of brass (Patti Vincent on soprano, alto and tenor sax; Bonnie Kovaleff on trumpet and trombone), piano (Kiera O'Hara), guitars (Barbara J. Galloway on acoustic and electric bass; Susan Colson on electric bass and classical guitar), congas (Jan Cornell), and percussion.

Group members trade off songwriting contributions, lead vocals, and instrumental arrangements. The album is equally divided into songs and instrumentals.

Baba Yaga is much stronger musically than it is lyrically. Frequently, the sound of the words is more important than the words themselves. Their least successful songs are the most overtly political. "Monogamy—Shbedogamy" is a delightfully danceable exception, offering a discourse on the virtues of variety in East Euro-

name." Other songs pay tribute to women like Sojourner Truth and Fannie Lou Hamer, as well as other black activists.

The heavy gospel style of Sweet Honey's music, with rhythm and blues and jazz variations, is, at best, absolutely compelling, but, particularly on some of the slow-moving cuts, it becomes repetitive and drags. Sweet Honey's music has not had the "crossover effect" between black, gay, and women's groups Redwood and the group hoped for, but the album remains a well-conceived and movingly executed coalition effort.

New sound.

In contrast, keyboard wizard Mary Watkins' album, just released, has already been put on the play lists of many progressive and jazz/fusion FM stations. *Something Moving*, Watkins' first lp, has a strikingly contemporary popular sound, ranging from disco to jazz/fusion to R&B, which gives it the most potential for mainstream success of any woman's album thus far released. Although the three cuts with lyrics on the album all allude to women's right to "love who we please," the lesbian content is subtle enough to pass by station



Bonnie Kovaleff plays trumpet in Baba Yaga.

Toni Armstrong

pean wedding song style, complete with accordion and violin. The strong political perspective on this album will probably limit its mainstream potential to those who agree with it, but some of the instrumental cuts are good enough to capture airplay.

B'lieve I'll Run On...See What the End's Gonna Be—the title alone will discourage airplay—is Sweet Honey in the Rock's first album on a women's label, a mutual effort to build coalition politics with the lesbian feminists of Redwood Records. Although no recording can convey totally the powerful presence of these four black women's unaccompanied voices in a live setting, the clean production of this lp lets the music sing for itself.

Sweet Honey's singing style—unison, close harmony, African call and response singing—can send a song soaring to the rafters of any auditorium.

Founding member Bernice Reagon, a well-known performer and political activist, wrote most of the songs. Reagon's guiding spirit is particularly strong on the title cut, which makes a powerful anti-nuclear statement, and on "Every Woman," in which she exhorts every woman "who ever loved a woman—mama, sister, daughter, lover—to stand up and call her

censors.

Mary Watkins has had a hand in the production and session work on a number of Olivia Records releases, and *Something Moving* is exceptionally well-produced. She has overdubbed her own playing on grand piano, Rhodes electric piano, Mini Moog Synthesizer, and Crumar string synthesizer. Although Watkins' music synthesizes contemporary jazz sounds rather than innovates, it is highly listenable, highly danceable. *Something Moving* is likely to move a lot of jazz listeners to the "women's music" section in the record stores.

Finally, Holly Near's new album, *Imagine My Surprise*, may surprise some of the popular singer's fans—not with her music, which remains as vital and warm as ever, but with her first "woman-identified" lp. Billed as "Holly Near and Friends," she has sensibly surrounded herself with the finest musicians and technicians in women's music. Her fourth album on her newly expanded Redwood Records label, *Imagine* focuses on the lives of women of many cultural backgrounds. But further discussion of Near's latest album will wait until a forthcoming article on the development and politics of Redwood Records.



Some FM stations are airing Mary Watkins' first lp.

Bologna

Bologna, where the Communist party has political control, provides a model of decentralized, humane urban services.

By Jonathan Fisher

"We should leave models to the tailors," advises Bologna's mayor, Renato Zangheri, in the U.S. on a speaking tour of several American universities. This modesty is characteristic of the slight, distinguished-looking Zangheri. Bologna has had a leftist administration for 30 years, and has been the most closely scrutinized of Italian cities for about as long. Anything awry in Bologna is immediately given prominence in almost all Italian newspapers, and Zangheri claims that it may be only because of this that Bologna is "not among the worst" governed cities.

This is confirmed by a trio of Swiss journalists in *Red Bologna* (Pathfinder, \$4.45) a recent book that provides a detailed illustration of how the Italian Communist Party conducts affairs in this city. As the mayor told authors Max Jaggi, Roger Muller and Sil Schmid, "What we are doing here is merely realizing the national policy of the PCI." What they are doing is taking popular control seriously both as a means of constructing socialism and as an end in itself. While the economic, political and cultural forces outside its control place real limits on the city administration, the Bolognese are succeeding in taking more and more control over the decisions that affect their lives.

This book is particularly useful for those of us engaged in the delivery of city services. Foreign models of socialism may be in disrepute these days, yet one can imagine leftists trapped in various urban bureaucracies pulling *Red Bologna* out of hidden desk compartments for spiritual uplift. How refreshing to see that somewhere the problems are looked at the right way: instead of adapting the street network to the traffic, the Bolognese have adapted traffic to the streets; or, as a 59-year-old worker put it, "We must not struggle for better psychiatric care but for better working conditions that do not make us animals by the time we go home."

When Bologna's transportation system was replanned, for example, hundreds of neighborhood meetings were held to work out goals, identify problems, and evaluate alternative solutions. Technicians helped in the process—but did not call the tune.

Ironically, the administration's successful economic policies created difficulties for itself in the field of transportation. Bologna's relative prosperity has helped give it one of the highest rates of auto ownership in Italy, and Mayor Zangheri mournfully told his listeners at a recent New York University lecture that he "is subjected to great abuse whenever I attempt to transfer land use from a driver to a pedestrian."

Nevertheless, a comprehensive package finally evolved, featuring greatly restricted auto use of city streets, and free rush-hour bus service. (General practice when re-



ducing transit fares is to concentrate on the midday period, when there is idle capacity. It is typical of the Bolognese outlook that the social injustice of a worker bearing the cost of his work trip, and the extreme waste characterizing the use of autos for this purpose—when they remain idle for eight straight hours—were more important than the narrow issue of unused transport capacity.) The plan resulted in a remarkable 50 percent jump in transit patronage, so remarkable that it was the subject of an admiring column by Pete Hamill last spring in the *New York Daily News*.

Bologna has most clearly been a model city in Italy in its policy of decentralizing city services. The city center does not dominate the rest of the city; rather, it is first among equals. Bologna is "organized horizontally" into 18 districts, each with its Neighborhood Council to run the services. Many Italian cities have now established similar councils. At present, in Bologna as elsewhere, those who serve on these councils are appointed by the respective Municipal Council. Mayor Zangheri told the authors of *Red Bologna* that the next step in extending the powers of the neighborhoods would be the direct election to the councils by the neighborhood itself. During his NYU lecture, the mayor told *IN THESE TIMES* that this next step had not yet been taken. He pointed out, however, that a national law would soon make such direct elections mandatory in all municipalities capable of delegating powers to their respective neighborhoods.

The problems facing Bologna's administration and its half million inhabitants are many. Having no revenue-generating powers (like all Italian cities), Bologna is absolutely dependent on the Christian Democrat-controlled central government for its financial support. The support furnished has been inadequate, and is becoming worse. The central government has assigned increasing responsibilities to Italian cities recently, but has not provided the means to fulfill them. The dominant social classes in Italy have long opposed spending for social services, though by now local industry has learned how to benefit from the provision of social services to the Bolognese. The big banks are controlled by the Christian Democrats, who also produce the television programs the Bolognese watch. The PCI controls Bologna politically only. Economically and culturally, the Christian Democrats rule here, as everywhere else in Italy.

Bologna's experience shows the impact a socialist administration can have on a city in a capitalist country. Is the model applicable in America? To Berkeley? To Ann Arbor? To New York? Challenged in New York to say how he would deal with that city's problems, Zangheri would only say, "I did not come to New York City to compete with Mayor Koch."